Smithsonian

FEBRUARY 2004

THE ENDURING ROMANCE OF CAMBODIA'S ANGKOR

Romare Bearden's Fabulous Collages

Was James Buchanan Our Worst President?

Saving Florida's Gentle Giants

Baghdad Behind the Headlines

George Ohr: Biloxi's Mad Potter

Lord Horatio Nelson: Admiral, Hero... and *Cad*!

When Valerie Vigoda's band GrooveLily tours the United States, they encounter new reasons to turn around and go home every day – long hours, bad food, bad weather, homesickness – things that try to convince them that they'd be better off in some 9-to-5 job or just chillin' on the couch.

PERSEVERANCE

– VALERIE VIGODA
U.S. ARMY ROTC/NATIONAL GUARD 1984-1995

What keeps Valerie going? A deep love of music, an addiction to applause and a few qualities that weren't exactly listed in the course guide at Princeton. Stamina. Follow-through. And what she calls "the ability to play the hand you're dealt."

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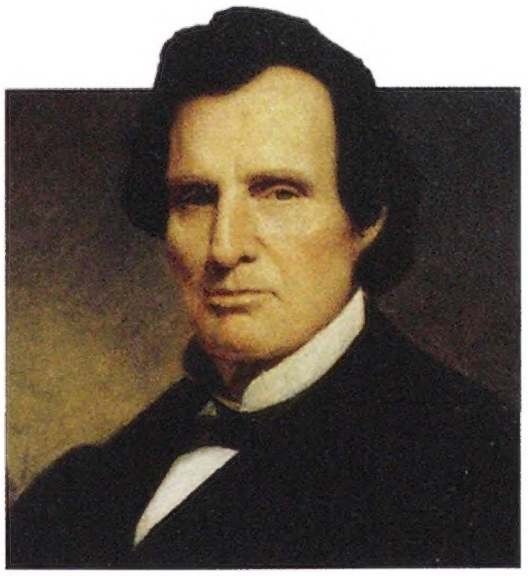
FEBRUARY 2004 VOLUME 34, NUMBER 11

FEATURES

"'I CAN ONLY SAY that no woman can feel the least attention from a husband more than I do,' Frances Nelson wrote to a friend in 1801. By then, her celebrated husband—England's greatest naval hero—was openly cohabiting with another woman."
— *"LORD NELSON: HERO AND . . . CAD!"* PAGE 68

76 "Before the war, school started with a song, 'We Love Saddam,'" says one headmistress.



96 Abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens: "Too important a figure to abandon again."

60 "I think the artist has to be like a whale," said Romare Bearden, "absorbing everything."

42 RESCUING ANGKOR

Long neglected and often looted, Cambodia's magnificent ancient temple complex is undergoing a major restoration project—and not a moment too soon
BY RICHARD COVINGTON / PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL FREEMAN

54 FURY OVER A GENTLE GIANT

Blaming the shy, sluggish manatee for destroying their livelihoods, Florida boaters and real estate developers are challenging its endangered status
BY CRAIG PITTMAN

60 ROMARE BEARDEN: MAN OF MANY PARTS

From scraps of photographs, newspapers and magazines, the late African-American artist created masterful portraits of contemporary black culture
BY PAUL TRACHTMAN

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A recently discovered trove of personal letters makes the case that the heralded British admiral was nobler on the high seas than in the bedroom
BY MICHAEL RYAN

76 BAGHDAD BEYOND THE HEADLINES

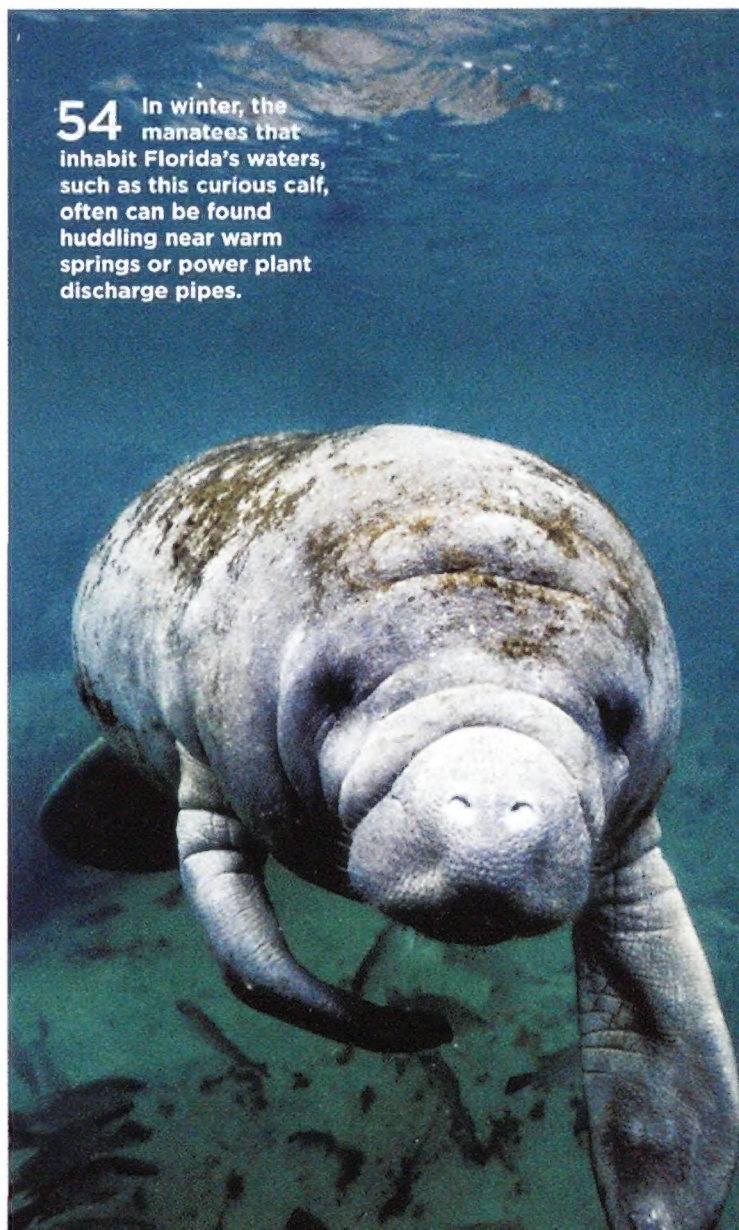
In shops, cafés, schools and mosques, a photojournalist documents a population gradually reawakening from life under Saddam Hussein
TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOIS RAIMONDO

88 THE MAD POTTER OF BILOXI

With his strange, misshapen pieces now selling for thousands of dollars and a new museum being built to showcase his works, George Ohr gets the last laugh
BY BRUCE WATSON

96 DIGGING INTO A HISTORIC RIVALRY

Abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens has long been eclipsed by his Pennsylvania neighbor President James Buchanan, but recent archaeological findings are elevating the reputation of the architect of Reconstruction
BY FERGUS M. BORDEWICH



54 In winter, the manatees that inhabit Florida's waters, such as this curious calf, often can be found huddling near warm springs or power plant discharge pipes.

ON THE COVER Though picturesque, giant trees (like this silk-cotton entwining an entrance to the temple of Preah Khan) are menacing the structures at Angkor. *PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL FREEMAN*

LOIS RAIMONDO, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA / BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY; JACK KRUMHOLZ, KIKE CALVO / V&W / IMAGE WORKS

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FEBRUARY 2004 VOLUME 34, NUMBER 11

DEPARTMENTS

"THE BEATLES were furious. They were standing in the center of the Fifth Street Gym in Miami Beach, a large, dingy, smoky room that smelled of sweat and liniment."

— *"WINNER BY A DECISION," PAGE 21*

35 The tradition of exchanging valentines has been part of our culture since the 16th century.

18 The Popham site has yielded such artifacts as stoneware fragments, trading beads, and tools.

21 At the time, the Beatles (with Ali in '64) thought the photographer had made them look foolish.

25 Chemist Alfred Nobel, in 1866, was one of the first to find a use for fossilized diatoms—a type of phytoplankton—when he mixed them with nitroglycerin, creating what he called "dynamite."

18 POINTS OF INTEREST *Maine's Lost Colony*
Before Jamestown and Plymouth, there was Popham
BY MYRON BECKENSTEIN

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Harry Benson's 1964 photograph of Cassius Clay—as the heavyweight contender was still known—and the Fab Four is a knockout
BY ROBERT LIPSYTE

25 PHENOMENA & CURIOSITIES *Gas Guzzlers*
Scientists are learning that diatoms—tiny, jewel-like, single-celled algae—may be the planet's best defense against global warming
BY DEBORAH FRANKLIN

28 THE OBJECT AT HAND *Special Delivery*
When a yellow fever epidemic swept through the South during the 1800s, postal workers reached for their . . . perforation paddles
BY ED LEIBOWITZ

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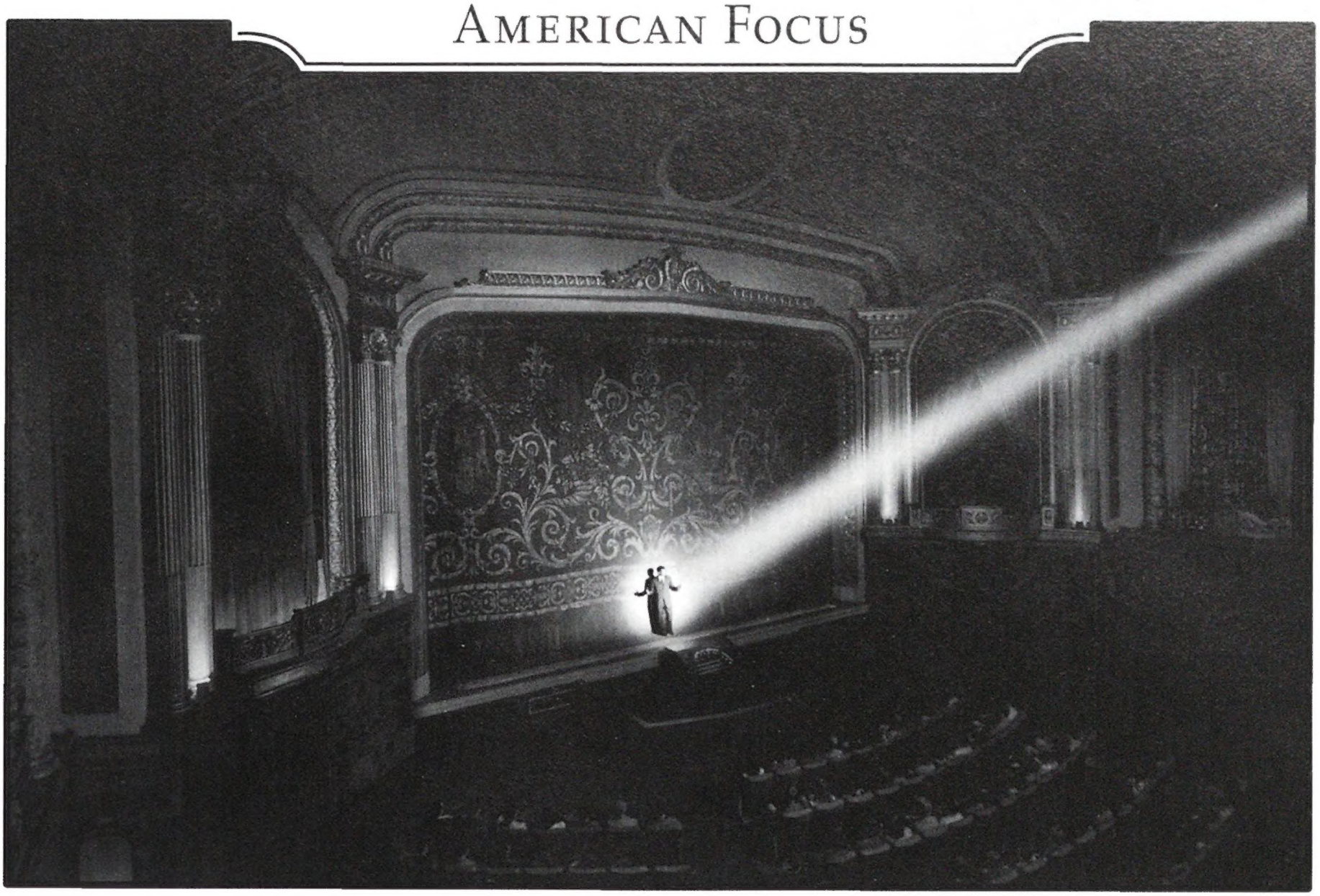
American Focus



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Reverberations

From booby traps to poolside parties ~ BY CAREY WINFREY

PHOTOGRAPHER MICHAEL FREEMAN, a regular contributor to SMITHSONIAN ("Rescuing Angkor Wat," p. 42), first visited Angkor in 1989, as the ten-year war of occupation between Cambodia's Khmer Rouge and Vietnam was winding down. With the front lines only a few miles to the south, Freeman had to contend with unexploded land mines, booby traps and some unusual photographic challenges. One morning he set up a large view camera on a tripod on an upper terrace at Angkor Wat and waited for the sun to rise. "Just as the light struck the towers, the camera shuddered," he recalls. "A few moments later an echoing boom sounded throughout the vast courtyard. I had forgotten the morning artillery barrage and had to time the photographs between reverberations."

Freeman (at Angkor Wat): Seeing the ruins in their full romantic glory.

On the other hand, Freeman had the temples more or less to himself. "Every other day a flight would arrive with only a couple of dozen tourists for a couple of hours," he recalls. "I saw the ruins in their full romantic glory—empty, mysterious, overgrown—the Angkor of the imagination."

Alas, that era is past. In those days, Angkor received fewer than 500 visitors a year; this year, officials predict a million people will make the pilgrimage. "With hundreds of people crowded at the western gate to see the sun rise over the towers, the atmosphere is less than sublime," says Freeman. "The more tourists that are drawn to this elusive experience, the more it slips from their grasp." Which is not to say that the temples aren't well worth a visit—if only in our pages.

IN FOUR YEARS of covering the political battles over protecting Florida's manatee, which have pitted animal advocates against boaters and real estate developers, *St. Petersburg Times* reporter Craig Pittman found himself in some exhilarating situations ("Fury Over a Gentle Giant," p. 54). With wildlife officers, he pursued speeding boaters on rivers. With a biologist trying to count manatees, he swooped down to 400 feet or so in an airplane. But the only time he felt his life was in danger was when he tried swimming with those gentle creatures.

"Some people who go snorkeling with manatees call it a spiritual experience," he says. "Mine was more on the comical side. My guide knew just where to go, and we quickly found some manatees. But when I got in the water to swim over to them, the cold seeped into my wet suit and my teeth started chattering. Then my face mask filled up with water and I started flailing around, and I made such a commotion I scared the manatee away. The guide said I was his only client who nearly drowned, or acted like it."

WASHINGTON POST PHOTOGRAPHER Lois Raimondo, who spent two weeks in Baghdad documenting for us that metropolis in flux, happened to be poring over her notebooks for her story, "Baghdad Beyond the Headlines" (p. 76), when the news of Saddam Hussein's capture flashed around the world. She immediately thought back to a conversation she had had with one of the dictator's former bodyguards, who had just returned to Baghdad following a self-imposed, decade-long exile in Jordan. "He recalled poolside parties Saddam hosted at his palace after battle victories in Iran," says Raimondo. "These were massive feasts of barbecued steak, lamb and chicken for 100 or 200 'friends'—guests chauffeured onto the palace grounds in cars with tinted windows." Once the guests were gone, members of the security staff were permitted to help themselves. "'Except for the gazelle,' he said. 'Saddam's favorite was gazelle. He kept gazelles on a farm ten kilometers outside the city and fed them cardamom for an entire month before he ate them. Only he was allowed to eat the gazelle.'"

Raimondo (at right, in a Baghdad café): Only Saddam Hussein was allowed to eat gazelle.

Raimondo, by the way, was just awarded an Alicia Paterson fellowship and will be taking a 12-month leave from the *Post* to work on a project in Pakistan involving Islamic fundamentalists opposed to violence. ○

YEANG SOKHON, ALI MODHAR

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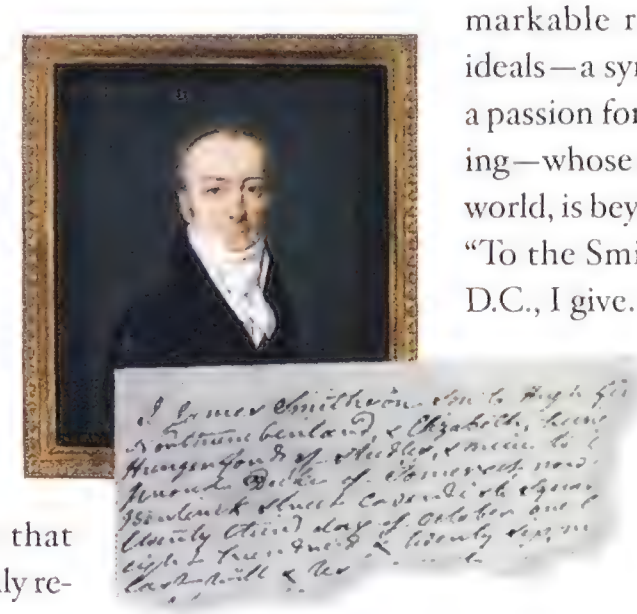
Will Power

Estate bequests by donors past and present keep the world's largest museum and research complex humming

ANYONE WHO ASPIRES to estate planning that's both responsible and bold can take heart from the example of James Smithson. The English scientist drew his will in 1826 and made a leap of faith. He bequeathed his entire fortune to the United States of America, a place he had never visited, to found there "an establishment for the increase & diffusion of knowledge," and he trusted the young nation to do right by his legacy. When the Smithsonian Institution was finally established, 20 years later, it began with no securely plotted course. There was certainly no predicting that it would one day become the world's largest museum and research complex. Smithson would surely be pleased by the mighty structure that has arisen on the bedrock of his fortune and his noble directive. For more than a century and a half, the Smithsonian has sought to realize his vision through scientific investigation, the collection and display of artifacts of every kind, and an enthusiastic embrace of art, culture and technology.



Smithson: Taking a risk.

Though we do not know Smithson's precise motive for taking the risk he did, the standard he set for personal investment in an ideal was admirably clear and has inspired other men and women to support the establishment that bears his name. The Smithsonian is heavily reliant today on monies directly appropriated by Congress. But for America's museum to thrive, it depends as well on the personal benefaction of its friends, who contribute in a variety of ways, including the one James Smithson chose for his estate.

One need not be at Smithson's extraordinary level of means to mirror his gesture of benefaction. Consider Jean Chisholm, a longtime Smithsonian member who, in 1996, donated $30,000 to establish the Institution's first gift annuity. She was 92 at the time. What prompted her donation? "I just want to give something back for the great pleasure I have had visiting Smithsonian museums," she said. When Chisholm died a few years later, we learned that her foresight and generosity were greater still. She provided in her will for her family and her college, and then bequeathed the balance of her estate—an amount many times her annuity—to her fondly remembered Smithsonian.

During my four years as Secretary, I've had the privilege of meeting many individuals who, like Jean Chisholm, are including the Smithsonian in their estate plans. I've been as encouraged by their testimonials of affection for the Institution as I've been moved by their expressions of personal gratification at having shaped legacies that will be realized through the Smithsonian. The deeply generous spirit of these modern benefactors renews James Smithson's founding impulse and ensures the Institution's vitality and well-being. We could not be more grateful to them.

I've made the Smithsonian a beneficiary of my own estate planning because I believe that it's an enterprise of remarkable reach and consequence, embodying ideals—a sympathetic and encompassing curiosity, a passion for learning, explanation and understanding—whose worth to the nation, and indeed to the world, is beyond measure. In our day, the statement "To the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., I give. . . ." acknowledges both a glorious past and a future of boundless promise. That future is more easily imagined today than it was in 1826, but I've no doubt that the reality will, once again, outstrip imagination.

"It's a poor sort of memory that only works backwards," says a character in *Through the Looking-Glass*, and that sly wisdom bears noting this side of the glass as well. Remembering forward was almost certainly a motive that drove James Smithson. I invite you to join me in crafting your own legacy to America by naming the Smithsonian in your will and extending the chain of benefaction to the nation whose first links were forged by Smithson's brave, benevolent act.

Lawrence M. Small
SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

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Readers respond to the December issue:

OVERLOOKED AVIATOR

NOWHERE in the wonderful "Taking Wing" was Glenn Curtiss mentioned. The Wright brothers deserve all the accolades they received, but Curtiss contributed to the development of improvements like the aileron, French name or no, essential to aviation. I can list numerous other Curtiss inventions that made practical development of the airplane possible.

ROGER PATTERSON
OCALA, FLORIDA

THE PILOT of my plane, the *Gossamer Albatross*, was not British, as your timeline stated, but an American, Bryan Allen. In 1979, the *Gossamer Albatross*, with Allen at the controls, won the Kremer Prize [as the first human-powered aircraft to cross the English Channel] of £100,000, then worth $214,000—at the time the largest prize in aviation history.

PAUL B. MACCREADY
MONROVIA, CALIFORNIA

READING "Hold Everything!" about Hungarian immigrant Steven F. Udvar-Hazy's $60 million donation to aid construction of the new Air and Space Museum's suburban Washington, D.C. facility, I was overcome with emotion. His gift will be enjoyed by millions and will be a tribute to immigrants who come to our shores and improve our society with new energy and strength.

MICHAEL JAMES JAQUISH
GIG HARBOR, WASHINGTON

OPPRESSED IN IRAQ

ANDREW COCKBURN'S "Iraq's Oppressed Majority," about the Shiite Muslims, did not deal with the status of women—the real oppressed group. We need to be sure that any democratic process includes women. We need to be there now, working to prepare and educate Iraqi women for their opportunities and responsibilities. If we fail to do this, then our hundreds of dead young men and women, and our thousands of maimed young men and women, will have suffered in vain.

JUDY BECKNER SLOAN
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

WATERGATE LESSON?

I SUSPECT that most of William Gaines' journalism students ("Who Was Deep Throat?") are idealistic and envision themselves as reporters with integrity who would protect the confidentiality of an informant to the point of going to jail. Yet Gaines and his students have done almost everything they could to break down the confidentiality that two of their colleagues, reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, solemnly gave a Watergate informant, Deep Throat. Why? Doesn't that violate the ethics of the profession? What kind of integrity does that instill in students? Deep Throat did this country a very valuable service, and his identity, by mutual agreement, is supposed to be made known after his death. I can only assume that Gaines got so caught up in the pursuit that he neglected to ask: Is this honorable?

MARSHALL SHEARER
DEXTER, MICHIGAN

William Gaines responds: It was Woodward and Bernstein who made the search for Deep Throat inevitable. I tell my students never to reveal anything *about an anonymous source. Do not author a book, as Woodward and Bernstein did, telling of each time you met with the person and what was said. Don't authorize a movie character based on the source. That, too, would only present a challenge to determine the source's identity. I believe journalists should provide the public with information they need and want, not gloat, "I know something you don't know, and I'm not telling."*

THE STORY OF Gaines' research to discover the identity of Deep Throat was fascinating. However, it is puzzling that reporter Carl Bernstein, whose revelations helped bring down a president, would denounce the investigation as undermining journalistic principles. It seems less a case of journalistic professionalism and more a case of whose ox is being gored.

ELLWYN R. STODDARD
EL PASO, TEXAS

ANOTHER PRETENDER

IN WRITING about Patrick O'Brian ("Master Storyteller"), Anthony Day says that just as O'Brian "invented his addictive tales, he had, it turned out, invented himself." Much the same can be said of Cecil Louis Troughton Smith, who buried his origins to become C. S. Forester, author of the *Hornblower* novels and other tales of naval warfare. My source? *Novelist and Storyteller: The Life of C. S. Forester* by his son John. The biography is not well known, but the revelations therein will upset even the most diehard Forester fan.

GEORGE W. EARLEY
MOUNT HOOD, OREGON

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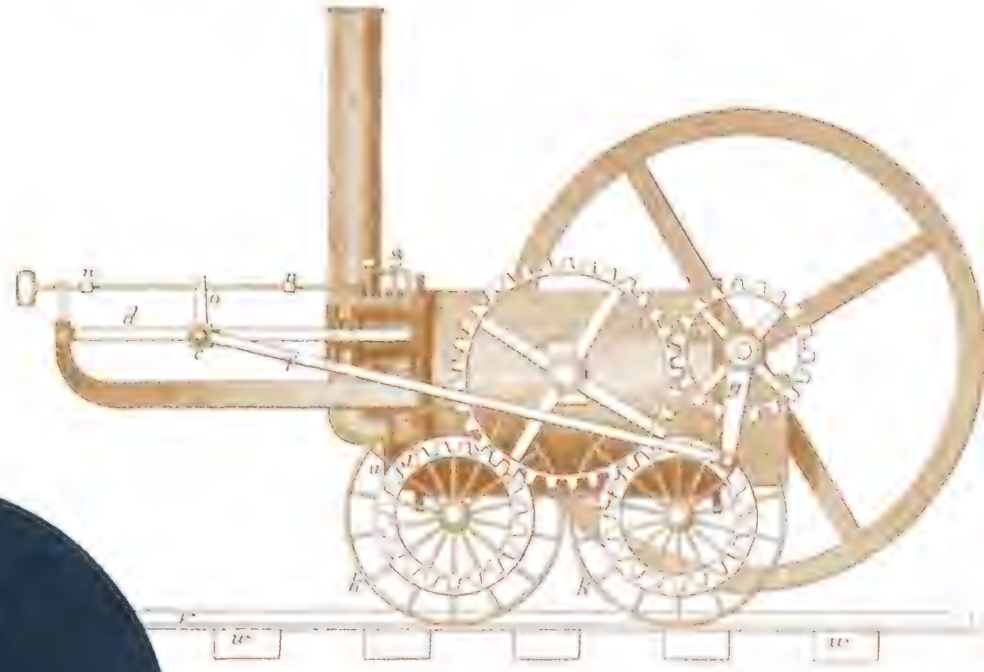
THIS MONTH IN HISTORY

FEBRUARY ANNIVERSARIES—MOMENTOUS OR MERELY MEMORABLE

20 YEARS AGO: NO STRINGS
Leaving the relative safety of the space shuttle, American Bruce McCandless II takes the first untethered spacewalk, February 7, 1984. Sporting a backpack powered by 24 nitrogen-firing jets, he roams 320 feet from his ship, all while orbiting the earth at 17,500 mph. Quips McCandless, recalling Neil Armstrong's famous small step, "It's a heck of a big leap for me."



200 YEARS AGO: ALL ABOARD
Cornish engineer Richard Trevithick successfully tests the first steam-propelled railway locomotive, in Penydarren, Wales, in 1804. Pulling ten tons of iron, five wagons and 70 men, his invention reaches a speed of five mph. Crows Trevithick: "The publick call'd mee a schemeing fellow but now their tone is much alter'd."

450 YEARS AGO: QUEEN FOR A DAY?
Lady Jane Grey, 16, Queen of England for just nine days in 1553, is executed for treason in the Tower of London, February 12, 1554. The niece of Henry VIII, she was manipulated onto the throne in an attempt to keep England Protestant, but lost it, and her head, to her Catholic cousin Mary Tudor.

80 YEARS AGO: HE'S GOT RHYTHM
George Gershwin, 25, takes to the keys at the 1924 première of his masterwork, "Rhapsody in Blue," at Aeolian Hall in New York City. Its "irresistible vitality" draws critical praise and helps propel jazz from clubs to the concert hall.

25 YEARS AGO: IRAN'S IMAM
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returns to Iran after 14 years of exile to lead a revolution to replace the monarchy with an Islamic government. He calls for the ouster of all foreigners, and later sanctions the taking of American hostages. Named Iran's leader for life, he dies in 1989. ○

—*ALISON McLEAN*

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75 YEARS AGO: MOUNTAIN MAJESTIES
On February 26, 1929, after 31 years of dispute between ranchers and conservationists, Calvin Coolidge signs a bill creating Grand Teton National Park. Today, more than four million people a year visit Wyoming's mountain treasure, which was expanded in 1950.

Maine's Lost Colony

Archaeologists uncover an early American settlement that history forgot – BY MYRON BECKENSTEIN

Orienting the colonial map was critical, says Brain, right, with volunteer John Robbins. Inset: Fragment of a 17th-century jug.

NOT FAR FROM PORTLAND along Maine's winding coast, someone has placed a neatly lettered sign on an otherwise undistinguished boulder. It reads: Popham Rock 1607. A play on Plymouth Rock 1620, some 200 miles south? Not entirely. A colony called Popham actually did precede the renowned Massachusetts settlement.

"Popham was the cornerstone in the foundation of English America," says Jeffrey P. Brain, 64, an archaeologist with the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, who is excavating the site of the forgotten colony. "The lessons learned were important to the later success of the Pilgrims."

Popham's value lies in its failure. Its remains, discovered only nine years ago, have been called one of the most significant archaeological sites in the country. Unlike Jamestown, Popham's successful sister colony in Virginia, whose footprint changed as it developed, Popham represents a unique, undisturbed time capsule of a very early North American settlement.

Each September since 1997, Brain has enlisted a few colleagues and some 30 volunteers and amateur archaeologists to work for three weeks at the mouth of the Kennebec River, about 25 miles northeast of Portland. This year's team included an epidemiologist, an engineer, a nurse, a sociology professor and a historian from England. Popham was named after its principal financial backer, Sir John Popham, and his nephew George Popham, the colony's president.

It was founded about 20 years after Sir Walter Raleigh's North Carolina colony disappeared in the 1580s, when, as the economic race with France and Spain heated up, England made another attempt to plant its flag in the New World. In 1606, James I granted a charter to a joint stock company to establish two colonies, one, Jamestown, on the southern Atlantic Coast, and the other, Popham, on the northern.

On May 31, 1607, about 100 men and boys set sail for the northerly destination. Discharged soldiers made up most of the colonists' ranks, but shipwrights, coopers, carpenters and a smattering of "gentlemen of quality" rounded them out. About three months later, the group landed on a wooded peninsula where the Kennebec River meets the Atlantic Ocean, and began building Fort St. George. In December, with winter coming and food scarce, half of the colonists returned to England. The next fall, after erecting several buildings, the remaining 45 sailed home.

Popham's rediscovery came about by two events a century apart. In 1888, a researcher for an American diplomat happened upon a map of Fort St. George in government archives in Madrid. Drawn and signed by Popham colonist John Hunt, it was likely snatched, or copied, by a Spanish spy soon after it arrived in England in 1608.

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DAY 1	WED	**Seward, USA**		6PM
DAY 2	THU	CRUISING HUBBARD GLACIER	1PM	5PM
DAY 3	FRI	Sitka, USA	8AM	5PM
DAY 4	SAT	Tracy Arm, USA	7AM	10AM
		Juneau, USA	1PM	11PM
DAY 5	SUN	Skagway, USA	7AM	5PM
DAY 6	MON	Ketchikan, USA	1PM	7PM
DAY 7	TUE	CRUISING THE INSIDE PASSAGE		
DAY 8	WED	**Vancouver, CANADA**	8AM	

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early English colony, the map contains sketches of trenched ramparts, a storehouse, a chapel and various buildings—in all, more than 15 structures. Though published in 1890, the map provoked little interest for 100 years, until Brain came upon a mention of the lost colony while vacationing in Maine.

At first "I thought it was some sort of local mythology," he says. "But it was historically known, and I decided it was time to look for it archaeologically."

Research led him to Hunt's map, which took him to Sabino Head, a windy promontory on the Kennebec. Topographical features seemed to match Fort St. George's modified star-shaped contours. Conducting a test excavation on the area in 1994, Brain and his team found a posthole after several weeks of digging. Baffled by not finding more postholes, he "fiddled with the map," rotated it 20 degrees and came up with a dead-on match with the landscape. "It was a eureka moment," he recalls. Soon the crew was "turning up one after another" of the three-foot-wide pine mold-filled holes, eventually 19 in all, outlining the 69-by-20-foot storehouse that Hunt had depicted on his blueprint almost 400 years before.

"Little pieces of the puzzle are coming together," says Brain of his team's efforts to unearth Popham's history.

Archaeologists are still not sure how many of the map's structures were actually built, but so far, in addition to the storehouse, they've located parts of the trench wall and the "Admirals howse," and they have leads on the buttery, a storehouse for wine and liquor.

During the second week of this year's dig, Kathy Bugbee, a retiree from Southport, Maine, unearthed an inch-long piece of decorated stoneware. A digger for seven years, she recognized the brown glazed fragment as part of a Bellarmine jug, a German-made container used throughout Europe to store liquor in the 16th and 17th centuries. In his on-site cache of artifacts, Brain found a wedge of Bellarmine that he had assembled from other fragments two years earlier. Bugbee's find slid easily into a gap in the piece to reveal a medallion motif. The jug's embossed seal reads: "1599."

In addition to Bellarmine, the site has yielded other ceramics, clay tobacco pipes, glass trading beads, bullets and tools, including a caulking iron, used in shipbuilding. The Popham settlers did succeed in constructing the *Virginia*, a small but durable vessel that would take them back to England and later make other transatlantic voyages.

At the admiral's house, the archaeological team turned up shards of delftware, more Bellarmine, fancy buttons, bits of etched wine glasses and jet beads—all reflecting the occupants' upper-class rank. A museum exhibition of Popham artifacts is planned for the colony's 400th anniversary in 2007.

The main reason for abandoning the colony, Brain theorizes, was a loss of leadership. Only one member of the group, George Popham, is known to have died at Fort St. George. (Jamestown lost more than half of its 120 settlers the first year.) But he was the colony's president, and on February 5, 1608, Raleigh Gilbert took command. Just 25, Gilbert was, according to one investor, "desirous of supremasy," "a loose life," with "litle zeale in Religion." Six months later, a resupply ship brought Gilbert news that he had inherited a title and an estate back in England. When Gilbert decided to return to England to collect, the others headed back with him.

"They were headless, so to speak," Brain says. "English society was very stratified; people needed leaders." Bad relations with the Indians, the fear of another severe winter and the area's lack of easily exploitable resources, such as gold or other precious metals, also affected the decision to abandon Popham.

Most of the returned settlers disappeared into history; a few crossed the Atlantic again to try their hand at Jamestown. The Pilgrims who arrived 12 years later, landing at Plymouth, had obviously learned some lessons from Popham. "They settled farther south in a milder climate that was more familiar to them and more conducive to agriculture," says Brain. "They tried harder to work with the Indians. They also brought women and children.

"Luck had a lot to do with these early ventures," Brain adds, explaining that Jamestown, too, almost failed. Hit hard by disease and starvation, the 50 or so remaining settlers abandoned the colony in the spring of 1610 and were sailing home when they encountered a relief fleet and a new governor, who ordered them back to Jamestown.

While about half of the one-acre Fort St. George site is on state land, a key portion, including the chapel, is not. Brain would like to dig there for traces of George Popham's remains. Neighbors, however, have mixed views about a possible major discovery in their backyard. Worried that the state might seize their property or tourists overrun it, some have refused access.

But Merry Chapin, a teacher at nearby Phippsburg Elementary School, sees things differently. Every summer she brings her class of fifth graders to the site to talk with the diggers and even sift a little dirt. "It makes history much more real for them," she says. "When you can hold Raleigh Gilbert's 400-year-old buttons in your hand, it's a lot about wonder."

Writer and amateur archaeologist MYRON BECKENSTEIN *lives in Maryland.*

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The stars aligned: Cassius Clay (not yet Muhammad Ali) and the Beatles (in Miami Beach in 1964) would soon ride a tsunami of fame.

Winner by a Decision

When Sonny Liston decided not to meet the Beatles 40 years ago, photographer Harry Benson pulled a switcheroo ~ BY ROBERT LIPSYTE

THE BEATLES WERE FURIOUS. They were standing in the center of the Fifth Street Gym in Miami Beach, a large, dingy, smoky room that smelled of sweat and liniment, stamping their feet and jabbering among themselves. They'd been conned! Photographer Harry Benson had told them he would set up a picture with the heavyweight champion of the world, Sonny Liston. But instead he had dumped them in the training camp of Liston's next victim, Cassius Clay, who John Lennon called "that big mouth who's going to lose."

This was February 18, 1964, and the Beatles, Clay (soon to be known as Muhammad Ali), Benson and I were all about to take major steps forward in our respective careers. The Fab Four, sensations in Europe, were in the early days of their first American tour. Within eight days, Clay would be the new champ (after Liston failed to come out after the seventh round), and my coverage of the fight would get me my first page-one byline in the *New York Times*. And in minutes, Benson, a 34-year-old Fleet Street photographer who had traveled with the Beatles from London, would take a picture that would become one of the 20th century's iconic pop images.

It almost didn't happen. Clay was late, and while Benson pushed his way into the boxing ring to get the best position, the Beatles decided they'd had enough.

"Where the f--- is he," Ringo asked no one in particular.

HARRY BENSON

The Beatles feared their antics with the playful pugilist made them look dumb.

"Let's get the hell out of here," said Lennon, and they started for the door. But Clay's press agent, who wanted the photo op to help promote the fight, signaled two huge Florida state troopers, who blocked the Beatles, then herded them into Clay's dressing room. I was swept along. The troopers slammed the door. For the next five or six minutes, the Beatles fussed and fumed. Oh, they were going to get that Harry Benson!

Suddenly, the dressing room door burst open, and Clay bellowed, "Hello there, Beatles. We oughta do some roadshows together. We'll get rich." The Beatles gaped; he was even bigger and handsomer than in his pictures.

Moments later, the five of them were in the ring, cavorting like old pals. Clay pretended to knock them all out with one punch. The Beatles fell down domino-style, then jumped up to form a pyramid to get at Clay's jaw. The five of them began laughing so hard their impromptu routines collapsed into slapstick.

Benson kept clicking away. When it was over, he recalls, the Beatles told him they would never speak to him again. The session had been "degrading. You made a fool of us," one of them said. As the singers piled into their limo, Benson was already thinking about his next assignment, shooting Ian Fleming, the creator of James Bond, at his Jamaica home. Another day, another icon. "You have to move on," he says.

Benson is 74 now and still moving. His photojournalism, most notably for *Life* magazine and *Vanity Fair*, is a history of the past 50 years. He has covered conflict in Afghanistan, Israel, the Dominican Republic, Kosovo, Poland and Pakistan. He was steps away when Senator Robert Kennedy was gunned down in a Los Angeles hotel kitchen, when Caroline Kennedy got married, when President Nixon resigned. He took the first baby pictures of Michael Jackson's son, Prince. He witnessed the Freedom March through Mississippi, the Watts riot, IRA hunger strikes, the fall of Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Berlin Wall. He says he hid for 15 hours in a palm tree on a London movie set to get the first picture of Elizabeth Taylor in her role as Cleopatra. Benson's cheek has been matched only by his charm; years later, Ms. Taylor agreed to allow Benson to shoot her hairless, stitched scalp after a brain tumor operation.

"I'm not precious, I'll do anything," said Benson recently in his New York home, a Scot's burr in his deep voice. "And I always remember, opportunity comes up like an express train. It's very sudden, and you have to be ready."

The scrappy, athletic son of a zookeeper, Benson got ready by shooting weddings in his native Glasgow. Even rivals describe him as endlessly creative. After Liston refused to pose with the Beatles, Benson decided that Clay, who he'd seen boasting on TV, would do just as well, although he didn't bother telling the foursome of the change in plans and tricked them into thinking they were still headed for Liston's gym. After all, he needed the picture. And the Beatles quickly forgot the deception, especially after Clay became Muhammad Ali, the heavyweight champ. Benson went on to have a friendly relationship with the late George Harrison and says he is still friendly with Sir Paul McCartney.

John Lennon photographed Benson with Paul, Ringo and George in 1964.

"Friendly, but you don't want to get that close to your subjects," says the photographer, whose most recent book, *Once There Was a Way*, celebrates the Beatles. "I'm a journalist, I'm not one of them. Never get that close. You need to stay in that no man's land where they trust you but can't tell you what to do."

Benson last saw Ali in 1993, in Iraq. The former champion was waiting for an audience with Saddam Hussein. Benson shadowed him for days, hoping to photograph the two together, but that shot eluded him. "Would've been a good one," he says cheerily. "But you have to move on." ○

ROBERT LIPSYTE is the author of the boxing novel Warrior Angel *(HarperCollins, 2003).*

HARRY BENSON • JOHN LENNON

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If you take LIPITOR, tell your doctor about any unusual muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of serious side effects. It is important to tell your doctor about any medications you are currently taking to avoid possible serious drug interactions. Your doctor may do simple blood tests to monitor liver function before and during drug treatment. The most commonly reported side effects are gas, constipation, stomach pain and indigestion. They are usually mild and tend to go away.

Please see additional important information on next page.

LIPITOR® (Atorvastatin Calcium) Tablets

Brief Summary of Prescribing Information

CONTRAINDICATIONS: Active liver disease or unexplained persistent elevations of serum transaminases. Hypersensitivity to any component of this medication. **Pregnancy and Lactation** — Atherosclerosis is a chronic process and discontinuation of lipid-lowering drugs during pregnancy should have little impact on the outcome of long-term therapy of primary hypercholesterolemia. Cholesterol and other products of cholesterol biosynthesis are essential components for fetal development (including synthesis of steroids and cell membranes). Since HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors decrease cholesterol synthesis and possibly the synthesis of other biologically active substances derived from cholesterol, they may cause fetal harm when administered to pregnant women. Therefore, HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors are contraindicated during pregnancy and in nursing mothers. ATORVASTATIN SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO WOMEN OF CHILDBEARING AGE ONLY WHEN SUCH PATIENTS ARE HIGHLY UNLIKELY TO CONCEIVE AND HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE POTENTIAL HAZARDS. If the patient becomes pregnant while taking this drug, therapy should be discontinued and the patient apprised of the potential hazard to the fetus.

WARNINGS: Liver Dysfunction — HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors, like some other lipid-lowering therapies, have been associated with biochemical abnormalities of liver function. **Persistent elevations (>3 times the upper limit of normal [ULN] occurring on 2 or more occasions) in serum transaminases occurred in 0.7% of patients who received atorvastatin in clinical trials. The incidence of these abnormalities was 0.2%, 0.2%, 0.6%, and 2.3% for 10, 20, 40, and 80 mg, respectively.** One patient in clinical trials developed jaundice. Increases in liver function tests (LFT) in other patients were not associated with jaundice or other clinical signs or symptoms. Upon dose reduction, drug interruption, or discontinuation, transaminase levels returned to or near pretreatment levels without sequelae. Eighteen of 30 patients with persistent LFT elevations continued treatment with a reduced dose of atorvastatin. **It is recommended that liver function tests be performed prior to and at 12 weeks following both the initiation of therapy and any elevation of dose, and periodically (eg, semiannually) thereafter.** Liver enzyme changes generally occur in the first 3 months of treatment with atorvastatin. Patients who develop increased transaminase levels should be monitored until the abnormalities resolve. Should an increase in ALT or AST of >3 times ULN persist, reduction of dose or withdrawal of atorvastatin is recommended. Atorvastatin should be used with caution in patients who consume substantial quantities of alcohol and/or have a history of liver disease. Active liver disease or unexplained persistent transaminase elevations are contraindications to the use of atorvastatin (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). **Skeletal Muscle — Rare cases of rhabdomyolysis with acute renal failure secondary to myoglobinuria have been reported with atorvastatin and with other drugs in this class.** Uncomplicated myalgia has been reported in atorvastatin-treated patients (see ADVERSE REACTIONS). Myopathy, defined as muscle aches or muscle weakness in conjunction with increases in creatine phosphokinase (CPK) values >10 times ULN, should be considered in any patient with diffuse myalgias, muscle tenderness or weakness, and/or marked elevation of CPK. Patients should be advised to report promptly unexplained muscle pain, tenderness or weakness, particularly if accompanied by malaise or fever. Atorvastatin therapy should be discontinued if markedly elevated CPK levels occur or myopathy is diagnosed or suspected. The risk of myopathy during treatment with drugs in this class is increased with concurrent administration of cyclosporine, fibric acid derivatives, erythromycin, niacin, or azole antifungals. Physicians considering combined therapy with atorvastatin and fibric acid derivatives, erythromycin, immunosuppressive drugs, azole antifungals, or lipid-lowering doses of niacin should carefully weigh the potential benefits and risks and should carefully monitor patients for any signs or symptoms of muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly during the initial months of therapy and during any periods of upward dosage titration of either drug. Periodic creatine phosphokinase (CPK) determinations may be considered in such situations, but there is no assurance that such monitoring will prevent the occurrence of severe myopathy. **Atorvastatin therapy should be temporarily withheld or discontinued in any patient with an acute, serious condition suggestive of a myopathy or having a risk factor predisposing to the development of renal failure secondary to rhabdomyolysis (eg, severe acute infection, hypotension, major surgery, trauma, severe metabolic, endocrine and electrolyte disorders, and uncontrolled seizures).**

PRECAUTIONS: General — Before instituting therapy with atorvastatin, an attempt should be made to control hypercholesterolemia with appropriate diet, exercise, and weight reduction in obese patients, and to treat other underlying medical problems (see INDICATIONS AND USAGE in full prescribing information). **Information for Patients** — Patients should be advised to report promptly unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by malaise or fever. **Drug Interactions** — The risk of myopathy during treatment with drugs of this class is increased with concurrent administration of cyclosporine, fibric acid derivatives, niacin (nicotinic acid), erythromycin, azole antifungals (see WARNINGS, Skeletal Muscle). ***Antacid:*** When atorvastatin and Maalox® TC suspension were coadministered, plasma concentrations of atorvastatin decreased approximately 35%. However, LDL-C reduction was not altered. ***Antipyrine:*** Because atorvastatin does not affect the pharmacokinetics of antipyrine, interactions with other drugs metabolized via the same cytochrome isozymes are not expected. ***Colestipol:*** Plasma concentrations of atorvastatin decreased approximately 25% when colestipol and atorvastatin were coadministered. However, LDL-C reduction was greater when atorvastatin and colestipol were coadministered than when either drug was given alone. ***Cimetidine:*** Atorvastatin plasma concentrations and LDL-C reduction were not altered by coadministration of cimetidine. ***Digoxin:*** When multiple doses of atorvastatin and digoxin were coadministered, steady-state plasma digoxin concentrations increased by approximately 20%. Patients taking digoxin should be monitored appropriately. ***Erythromycin:*** In healthy individuals, plasma concentrations of atorvastatin increased approximately 40% with coadministration of atorvastatin and erythromycin, a known inhibitor of cytochrome P450 3A4 (see WARNINGS, Skeletal Muscle). ***Oral Contraceptives:*** Coadministration of atorvastatin and an oral contraceptive increased AUC values for norethindrone and ethinyl estradiol by approximately 30% and 20%. These increases should be considered when selecting an oral contraceptive for a woman taking atorvastatin. ***Warfarin:*** Atorvastatin had no clinically significant effect on prothrombin time when administered to patients receiving chronic warfarin treatment. **Endocrine Function** — HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors interfere with cholesterol synthesis and theoretically might blunt adrenal and/or gonadal steroid production. Clinical studies have shown that atorvastatin does not reduce basal plasma cortisol concentration or impair adrenal reserve. The effects of HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors on male fertility have not been studied in adequate numbers of patients. The effects, if any, on the pituitary-gonadal axis in premenopausal women are unknown. Caution should be exercised if an HMG-CoA reductase inhibitor is administered concomitantly with drugs that may decrease the levels or activity of endogenous steroid hormones, such as ketoconazole, spironolactone, and cimetidine. **CNS Toxicity** — Brain hemorrhage was seen in a female dog treated for 3 months at 120 mg/kg/day. Brain hemorrhage and optic nerve vacuolation were seen in another female dog that was sacrificed in moribund condition after 11 weeks of escalating doses up to 280 mg/kg/day. The 120 mg/kg dose resulted in a systemic exposure approximately 16 times the human plasma area-under-the-curve (AUC, 0-24 hours) based on the maximum human dose of 80 mg/day. A single tonic convulsion was seen in each of 2 male dogs (one treated at 10 mg/kg/day and one at 120 mg/kg/day) in a 2-year study. No CNS lesions have been observed in mice after chronic treatment for up to 2 years at doses up to 400 mg/kg/day or in rats at doses up to 100 mg/kg/day. These doses were 6 to 11 times (mouse) and 8 to 16 times (rat) the human AUC (0-24) based on the maximum recommended human dose of 80 mg/day. CNS vascular lesions, characterized by perivascular hemorrhages, edema, and mononuclear cell infiltration of perivascular spaces, have been observed in dogs treated with other members of this class. A chemically similar drug in this class produced optic nerve degeneration (Wallerian degeneration of retinogeniculate fibers) in clinically normal dogs in a dose-dependent fashion at a dose that produced plasma drug levels about 30 times higher than the mean drug level in humans taking the highest recommended dose. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** — In a 2-year carcinogenicity study in rats at dose levels of 10, 30, and 100 mg/kg/day, 2 rare tumors were found in muscle in high-dose females: in one, there was a rhabdomyosarcoma and, in another, there was a fibrosarcoma. This dose represents a plasma AUC (0-24) value of approximately 16 times the mean human plasma drug exposure after an 80 mg oral dose. A 2-year carcinogenicity study in mice given 100, 200, or 400 mg/kg/day resulted in a significant increase in liver adenomas in high-dose males and liver carcinomas in high-dose females. These findings occurred at plasma AUC (0-24) values of approximately 6 times the mean human plasma drug exposure after an 80 mg oral dose. *In vitro*, atorvastatin was not mutagenic or clastogenic in the following tests with and without metabolic activation: the Ames test with *Salmonella typhimurium* and *Escherichia coli*, the HGPRT forward mutation assay in Chinese hamster lung cells, and the chromosomal aberration assay in Chinese hamster lung cells. Atorvastatin was negative in the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test. Studies in rats performed at doses up to 175 mg/kg (15 times the human exposure) produced no changes in fertility. There was aplasia and aspermia in the epididymis of 2 of 10 rats treated with 100 mg/kg/day of atorvastatin for 3 months (16 times the human AUC at the 80 mg dose); testis weights were significantly lower at 30 and 100 mg/kg and epididymal weight was lower at 100 mg/kg. Male rats given 100 mg/kg/day for 11 weeks prior to mating had decreased sperm motility, spermatid head concentration, and increased abnormal sperm. Atorvastatin caused no adverse effects on semen parameters, or reproductive organ histopathology in dogs given doses of 10, 40, or 120 mg/kg for two years. **Pregnancy — Pregnancy Category X: See CONTRAINDICATIONS.** Safety in pregnant women has not been established. Atorvastatin crosses the rat placenta and reaches a level in fetal liver equivalent to that of maternal plasma. Atorvastatin was not teratogenic in rats at doses up to 300 mg/kg/day or in rabbits at doses up to 100 mg/kg/day. These doses resulted in multiples of about 30 times (rat) or 20 times (rabbit) the human exposure based on surface area (mg/m^2). In a study in rats given 20, 100, or 225 mg/kg/day, from gestation day 7 through to lactation day 21 (weaning), there was decreased pup survival at birth, neonate, weaning, and maturity in pups of mothers dosed with 225 mg/kg/day. Body weight was decreased on days 4 and 21 in pups of mothers dosed at 100 mg/kg/day; pup body weight was decreased at birth and at days 4, 21, and 91 at 225 mg/kg/day. Pup development was delayed (rotorod performance at 100 mg/kg/day and acoustic startle at 225 mg/kg/day; pinnae detachment and eye opening at 225 mg/kg/day). These doses correspond to 6 times (100 mg/kg) and 22 times (225 mg/kg) the human AUC at 80 mg/day. Rare reports of congenital anomalies have been received following intrauterine exposure to HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors. There has been one report of severe congenital bony deformity, tracheo-esophageal fistula, and anal atresia (VATER association) in a baby born to a woman who took lovastatin with dextroamphetamine sulfate during the first trimester of pregnancy. LIPITOR should be administered to women of child-bearing potential only when such patients are highly unlikely to conceive and have been informed of the potential hazards. If the woman becomes pregnant while taking LIPITOR, it should be discontinued and the patient advised again as to the potential hazards to the fetus. **Nursing Mothers** — Nursing rat pups had plasma and liver drug levels of 50% and 40%, respectively, of that in their mother's milk. Because of the potential for adverse reactions in nursing infants, women taking LIPITOR should not breast-feed (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). **Pediatric Use** — Safety and effectiveness in patients 10-17 years of age with heterozygous familial hypercholesterolemia have been evaluated in controlled clinical trials of 6 months duration in adolescent boys and postmenarchal girls. Patients treated with LIPITOR had an adverse experience profile generally similar to that of patients treated with placebo, the most common adverse experiences observed in both groups, regardless of causality assessment, were infections. **Doses greater than 20 mg have not been studied in this patient population.** In this limited controlled study, there was no detectable effect on growth or sexual maturation in boys or on menstrual cycle length in girls. See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies section* in full prescribing information; ADVERSE REACTIONS, *Pediatric Patients*; and DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION, *Pediatric patients (10-17 years of age) with Heterozygous Familial Hypercholesterolemia* in full prescribing information. Adolescent females should be counseled on appropriate contraceptive methods while on LIPITOR therapy (see CONTRAINDICATIONS and PRECAUTIONS, *Pregnancy*). **LIPITOR has not been studied in controlled clinical trials involving pre-pubertal patients or patients younger than 10 years of age.** Clinical efficacy with doses up to 80 mg/day for 1 year have been evaluated in an uncontrolled study of patients with homozygous FH including 8 pediatric patients. See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies in Homozygous Familial Hypercholesterolemia* in full prescribing information. **Geriatric Use** — The safety and efficacy of atorvastatin (10-80 mg) in the geriatric population (≥65 years of age) was evaluated in the ACCESS study. In this 54-week open-label trial 1,958 patients initiated therapy with atorvastatin 10 mg. Of these, 835 were elderly (≥65 years) and 1,123 were non-elderly. The mean change in LDL-C from baseline after 6 weeks of treatment with atorvastatin 10 mg was -38.2% in the elderly patients versus -34.6% in the non-elderly group. The rates of discontinuation due to adverse events were similar between the two age groups. There were no differences in clinically relevant laboratory abnormalities between the age groups.

ADVERSE REACTIONS: LIPITOR is generally well-tolerated. Adverse reactions have usually been mild and transient. In controlled clinical studies of 2502 patients, <2% of patients were discontinued due to adverse experiences attributable to atorvastatin. The most frequent adverse events thought to be related to atorvastatin were constipation, flatulence, dyspepsia, and abdominal pain. **Clinical Adverse Experiences** — Adverse experiences reported in ≥2% of patients in placebo-controlled clinical studies of atorvastatin, regardless of causality assessment, are shown in the following table.

Adverse Events in Placebo-Controlled Studies (% of Patients)

BODY SYSTEM Adverse Event	Placebo N = 270	Atorvastatin 10 mg N = 863	Atorvastatin 20 mg N = 36	Atorvastatin 40 mg N = 79	Atorvastatin 80 mg N = 94
BODY AS A WHOLE					
Infection	10.0	10.3	2.8	10.1	7.4
Headache	7.0	5.4	16.7	2.5	6.4
Accidental Injury	3.7	4.2	0.0	1.3	3.2
Flu Syndrome	1.9	2.2	0.0	2.5	3.2
Abdominal Pain	0.7	2.8	0.0	3.8	2.1
Back Pain	3.0	2.8	0.0	3.8	1.1
Allergic Reaction	2.6	0.9	2.8	1.3	0.0
Asthenia	1.9	2.2	0.0	3.8	0.0
DIGESTIVE SYSTEM					
Constipation	1.8	2.1	0.0	2.5	1.1
Diarrhea	1.5	2.7	0.0	3 8	5.3
Dyspepsia	4.1	2.3	2.8	1.3	2.1
Flatulence	3.3	2.1	2.8	1.3	1.1
RESPIRATORY SYSTEM					
Sinusitis	2.6	2.8	0.0	2.5	6.4
Pharyngitis	1.5	2.5	0.0	1.3	2.1
SKIN AND APPENDAGES					
Rash	0.7	3.9	2.8	3.8	1.1
MUSCULOSKELETAL SYSTEM					
Arthralgia	1.5	2.0	0.0	5.1	0.0
Myalgia	1.1	3.2	5.6	1.3	0.0

The following adverse events were reported, regardless of causality assessment in patients treated with atorvastatin in clinical trials. The events in italics occurred in ≥2% of patients and the events in plain type occurred in <2% of patients.

Body as a Whole: *Chest pain*, face edema, fever, neck rigidity, malaise, photosensitivity reaction, generalized edema. ***Digestive System:*** *Nausea*, gastroenteritis, liver function tests abnormal, colitis, vomiting, gastritis, dry mouth, rectal hemorrhage, esophagitis, eructation, glossitis, mouth ulceration, anorexia, increased appetite, stomatitis, biliary pain, cheilitis, duodenal ulcer, dysphagia, enteritis, melena, gum hemorrhage, stomach ulcer, tenesmus, ulcerative stomatitis, hepatitis, pancreatitis, cholestatic jaundice. ***Respiratory System:*** *Bronchitis, rhinitis*, pneumonia, dyspnea, asthma, epistaxis. ***Nervous System:*** *Insomnia, dizziness*, paresthesia, somnolence, amnesia, abnormal dreams, libido decreased, emotional lability, incoordination, peripheral neuropathy, torticollis, facial paralysis, hyperkinesia, depression, hypesthesia, hypertonia. ***Musculoskeletal System:*** *Arthritis*, leg cramps, bursitis, tenosynovitis, myasthenia, tendinous contracture, myositis. ***Skin and Appendages:*** Pruritus, contact dermatitis, alopecia, dry skin, sweating, acne, urticaria, eczema, seborrhea, skin ulcer. ***Urogenital System:*** *Urinary tract infection*, urinary frequency, cystitis, hematuria, impotence, dysuria, kidney calculus, nocturia, epididymitis, fibrocystic breast, vaginal hemorrhage, albuminuria, breast enlargement, metrorrhagia, nephritis, urinary incontinence, urinary retention, urinary urgency, abnormal ejaculation, uterine hemorrhage. ***Special Senses:*** Amblyopia, tinnitus, dry eyes, refraction disorder, eye hemorrhage, deafness, glaucoma, parosmia, taste loss, taste perversion ***Cardiovascular System:*** Palpitation, vasodilatation, syncope, migraine, postural hypotension, phlebitis, arrhythmia, angina pectoris, hypertension. ***Metabolic and Nutritional Disorders:*** *Peripheral edema*, hyperglycemia, creatine phosphokinase increased, gout, weight gain, hypoglycemia. ***Hemic and Lymphatic System:*** Ecchymosis, anemia, lymphadenopathy, thrombocytopenia, petechia. **Postintroduction Reports** — Adverse events associated with LIPITOR therapy reported since market introduction, that are not listed above, regardless of causality assessment, include the following: anaphylaxis, angioneurotic edema, bullous rashes (including erythema multiforme, Stevens-Johnson syndrome, and toxic epidermal necrolysis), and rhabdomyolysis. **Pediatric Patients (ages 10-17 years)** In a 26-week controlled study in boys and postmenarchal girls (n=140), the safety and tolerability profile of LIPITOR 10 to 20 mg daily was generally similar to that of placebo (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies section* in full prescribing information and PRECAUTIONS, *Pediatric Use*).

OVERDOSAGE: There is no specific treatment for atorvastatin overdosage. In the event of an overdose, the patient should be treated symptomatically, and supportive measures instituted as required. Due to extensive drug binding to plasma proteins, hemodialysis is not expected to significantly enhance atorvastatin clearance.

Please see full prescribing information for additional information about LIPITOR.

℞ only

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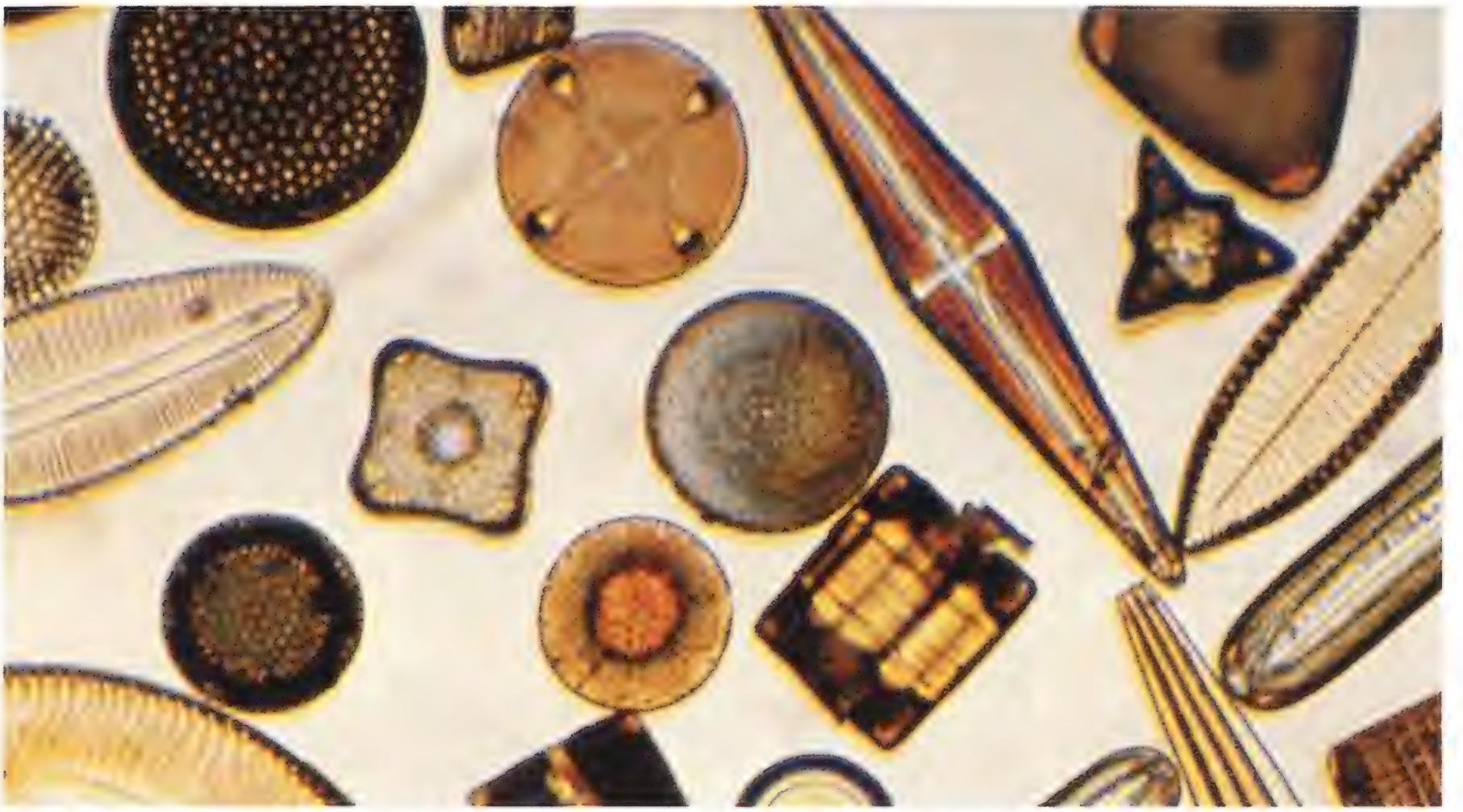
Gas Guzzlers

New research shows how microscopic diatoms remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and may help keep the planet from overheating – BY DEBORAH FRANKLIN



Some 12,000 species of diatoms fill our oceans and lakes, efficiently removing carbon dioxide from the earth's atmosphere.

IN MY APARTMENT, in San Francisco, I've just poured into the palm of my hand some of what may be the world's best defense against global warming. It arrived in a one-pint plastic container from EaglePicher Filtration and Minerals, Inc., a Reno, Nevada, firm that mined the stuff from an ancient lake bed nearby. As I rub it between my fingers, the white powder feels as silky as cornstarch. Even after I wash with soap and water, my fingertips are chalky, as though I've buffed them with extremely fine sandpaper.

The container holds the fossilized shells of countless diatoms, single-celled algae that inhabit oceans, lakes and other bodies of water. Like other phytoplankton, diatoms convert carbon dioxide, water and sunlight into food and release oxygen; unlike other phytoplankton, diatoms are encased in porous, intricately structured, often beautiful silica shells. Diatoms were all the rage in Victorian times, when genteel folk gathered around the parlor microscope to marvel at the jewel-like creatures. And ever since 1866, when Swedish chemist Alfred Nobel first mixed fossilized diatoms with nitroglycerin and rolled the stuff into a stick he called dynamite, the uses for diatom shells have been, well, exploding.

Today, processed diatomaceous earth (like the sample sent to me) is used to filter wine and swimming pool water, polish teeth and silver, and serve as filler in concrete, plastics and paper. It is mixed into house paint to flatten unwanted sheen and churned into golf courses and football fields to enrich and aerate the soil. Organic gardeners sprinkle it around roses and tomatoes; instead of poisoning hungry insect pests, pesticide-shy horticulturists make use of crushed diatom shells' sharp edges to cut the invaders to ribbons.

Yet the lowly diatom does its most important job on a far grander scale, as scientists are only now beginning to understand. By taking in carbon dioxide and sinking it to the ocean depths, diatoms dispose of huge amounts of the most abundant of the atmosphere's greenhouse gases. Recent satellite measurements suggest that phytoplankton process nearly half of all the

"Diatoms may well be changing the chemistry of the deep sea."

carbon dioxide removed from the atmosphere by photosynthesis. These miniscule creatures, long regarded primarily as the bottom link of the marine food chain, capture nearly as much of the gas as all the trees, grasses and other land plants combined, majestic redwoods included. And of the many types of phytoplankton, diatoms are at once the most efficient carbon dioxide processors and the most prolific. A diatom, doubling about once a day, will beget 100 million descendants in a month.

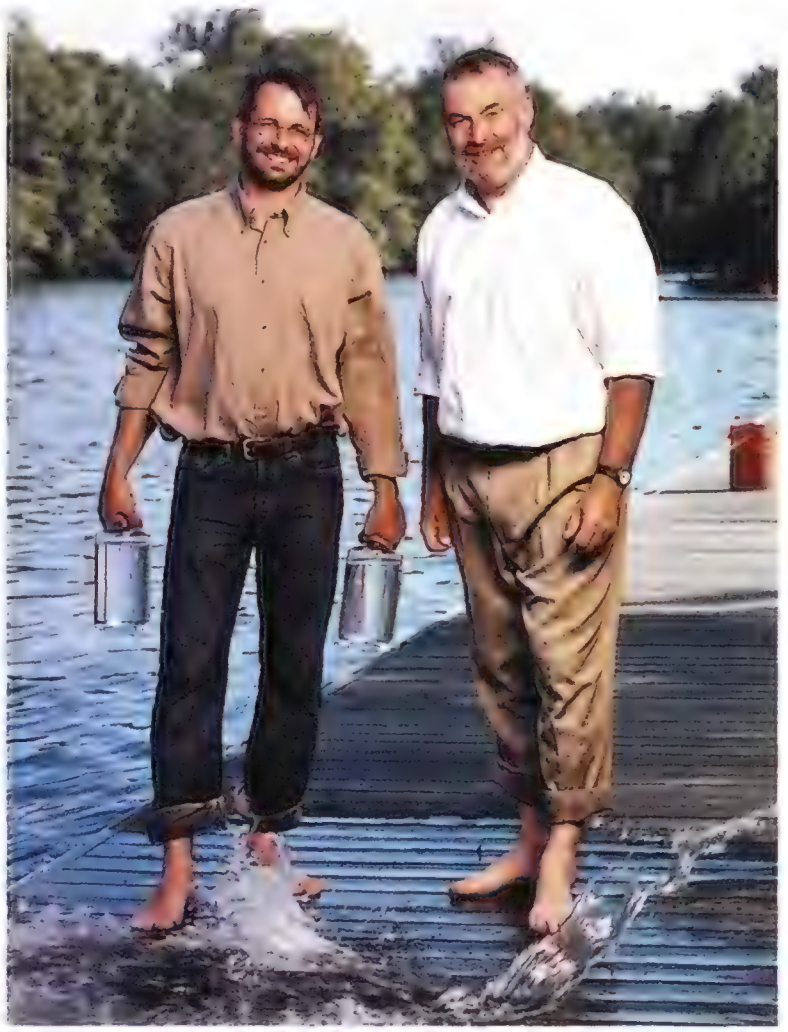
How the organism manages to be so successful is becoming clearer. And the secret, researchers say, is its ornate shell. "Anybody who looks at a diatom is first struck by its beauty," says François Morel, a Princeton University oceanographer. "But with all that detailing, it's also wonderfully shaped to optimize the chemistry it needs to do."

Over time, a lot of atmospheric carbon dioxide dissolves in oceans and lakes, where it is converted into bicarbonate—a form that most plants and algae can't use. But diatoms and other phytoplankton possess an enzyme that converts bicarbonate back into usable carbon dioxide. Morel and collaborator Allen Milligan, an oceanographer at Rutgers' Institute of Marine and Coastal Sciences, discovered that the silica in the diatom's shell chemically speeds that conversion. Also, its latticework surface area, larger than that of a smooth shell, maximizes photosynthesis, giving the diatom more energy to grow and reproduce. "There have been other ideas over the years about how a diatom might benefit from a glass shell as protection, maybe, or as a heavy weight to help it gather nutrients" at lower depths, Milligan says. "But as far as we know, this is the first evidence that its *chemistry* is important."

The finding adds another dimension to understanding climate change, says Philip Froelich, an oceanographer at Florida State University at Tallahassee. "Potentially, diatoms are changing the chemistry of what's going on in the deep sea, and if so, we'll have to take that into account," he says. "It's too soon to say what sort of ramifications such changes might have. But it's safe to say that Morel and Milligan's discovery complicates an already complicated picture."

If a diatom isn't eaten and dies of old age (its life span is about six days), it sinks to the seafloor or lake bed, taking any carbon it processed with it. Buried diatom remains may then, over geological epochs, play another role in what scientists call the "carbon cycle" by contributing to the earth's store of fossil fuels, which, of course, yield carbon dioxide when burned.

Now that many authorities believe the atmosphere is loading up on carbon dioxide, with cars and factories and what have you producing the gas faster than diatoms and plant life can sequester it, maybe it's only natural that diatoms would figure in a proposed solution to the problem. There's at least 30 percent more carbon dioxide in the air today than before the Industrial Revolution, according to a 2001 report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. To reduce those levels, some researchers and entrepreneurs have proposed boosting phytoplankton growth by "fertilizing" oceans with iron, a nutrient essential to the organism's growth. Preliminary tests in the equatorial Pacific Ocean and Southern Ocean since 1995 have shown that seeding seawater with iron does increase phytoplankton populations—in the short run.



Milligan and Morel (at Princeton) discovered that the diatom's porous silica shell maximizes photosynthesis.

But the prospect horrifies some ecologists. They say the approach could backfire, *increasing* atmospheric carbon dioxide levels by spurring the growth of the marine bacteria that feed on dead diatoms. "I could see significant warming happening even faster than anyone's imagined," says Kay Bidle, a marine biologist at the Rutgers marine institute and an expert on diatom ecology. Beyond that, Bidle and others say no one can predict how dumping iron into the ocean would affect marine life in the long run.

As I sit in my apartment, it's odd to think that the powdery diatomaceous earth in my hand helped cleanse the atmosphere, and humbling to think how much remains to be learned about an organism that has long beguiled nature lovers as well as scientists. More important, this new view of diatom chemistry suggests that answers to some of earth's biggest problems may be found in some of its tiniest inhabitants. ○

DEBORAH FRANKLIN last wrote for SMITHSONIAN about the walkingstick.

ERIC FREDENSTEIN

"The Broker to Beat"—*SmartMoney* magazine, August 2003*

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[*Perforation Paddle*]
NATIONAL POSTAL MUSEUM

Special Delivery

In the 1900s, health officials believed that puncturing supposedly disease-infested mail and then fumigating it slowed the spread of illness – BY ED LEIBOWITZ

IN THE WAKE of the anthrax attacks of 2001, letters bound for Washington, D.C. began taking a major detour. Before arriving at the desks of congressmen, White House aides or, for that matter, Smithsonian staffers, mountains of letters were routed to industrial facilities in Lima, Ohio, and Bridgeport, New Jersey, where they were subjected to microbe-destroying irradiation. (The precautionary measures remain in effect, to a lesser extent, today.) At the same time, words and images were vaporized to near unreadability; the paper itself was often reduced to brittle, ivory sheaves. But however crude and destructive the decontamination process, it has proved effective: irradiation does indeed destroy anthrax.

From Colonial times until the end of the 19th century, packages, letters and newspapers had often been regarded as agents of disease. (Until the anthrax outbreak, this presumption was completely unfounded.)

Never was the U.S. mail subjected to more draconian measures, nor to such a futile extent, than when a series of yellow fever epidemics ravaged the South, killing as many as 150,000 during the 1800s. In 1911, the Smithsonian acquired a curious instrument from this benighted era—a kind of modified hairbrush, fitted with sharp metal tines instead of boar bristles, and used in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, as the yellow fever epidemic of 1897 swept northward from

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Important CELEBREX information. Prescription CELEBREX is not for everyone. People with aspirin-sensitive asthma or allergic reactions due to aspirin or other arthritis medicines or certain drugs called sulfonamides should not take CELEBREX. In rare cases, serious stomach problems such as bleeding can occur without warning. The most common side effects in clinical trials were indigestion, diarrhea and abdominal pain. CELEBREX should not be taken in late pregnancy. Tell your doctor if you have kidney or liver problems.

†IMS America Ltd. National Prescription Audit (Total Prescriptions. 8/1/00-3/31/03

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(celecoxib capsules)

Brief summary of prescribing information.

INDICATIONS AND USAGE
For relief of the signs and symptoms of osteoarthritis (OA), and of rheumatoid arthritis (RA) in adults. For the management of acute pain in adults. For the treatment of primary dysmenorrhea.

CONTRAINDICATIONS
CELEBREX is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to celecoxib. CELEBREX should not be given to patients who have demonstrated allergic-type reactions to sulfonamides or to those who have experienced asthma, urticaria, or allergic-type reactions after taking aspirin or other non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs). Severe, rarely fatal, anaphylactic-like reactions to NSAIDs have been reported in such patients (see WARNINGS, Anaphylactoid Reactions, and PRECAUTIONS, Preexisting Asthma).

WARNINGS
Gastrointestinal (GI) Effects — Risk of GI Ulceration, Bleeding, and Perforation: Serious GI toxicity (bleeding, ulceration, and perforation of the stomach or intestine) can occur at any time, with or without warning symptoms, in patients treated with NSAIDs. Minor upper GI problems, such as dyspepsia, are common and may also occur at any time during NSAID therapy. Therefore, physicians and patients should remain alert for ulceration and bleeding, even in the absence of previous GI tract symptoms (see PRECAUTIONS — Hematological Effects). Inform patients about the signs and/or symptoms of serious GI toxicity and the steps to take if they occur. Only 1 in 5 patients who develop a serious upper GI adverse event on NSAID therapy is symptomatic. Upper GI ulcers, gross bleeding or perforation, caused by NSAIDs, occur in about 1% of patients treated for 3-6 months, and in about 2-4% of patients treated for one year. These trends continue thus, increasing the likelihood of developing a serious GI event at some time during the course of therapy. However, even short-term therapy is not without risk. Prescribe NSAIDs with extreme caution in patients with a prior history of ulcer disease or GI bleeding. Most spontaneous reports of fatal GI events are in elderly or debilitated patients and therefore take special care in treating this population. **To minimize the potential risk for an adverse GI event, use the lowest effective dose for the shortest possible duration.** For high risk patients, consider alternate therapies that do not involve NSAIDs. Studies have shown that patients with a *prior history of peptic ulcer disease and/or GI bleeding* and who use NSAIDs, have a greater than 10-fold higher risk for developing a GI bleed than patients with neither of these risk factors. Studies have identified several other co-therapies or co-morbid conditions that may increase the risk for GI bleeding such as: treatment with oral corticosteroids or anticoagulants, longer duration of NSAID therapy, smoking, alcoholism, older age, and poor general health status.

CLASS Study: The estimated cumulative rates at 9 months of *complicated and symptomatic ulcers* (an adverse event similar but not identical to the "upper GI ulcers, gross bleeding or perforation" described in the preceding paragraphs) for patients treated with CELEBREX 400 mg BID (see Special Studies — Use with Aspirin) are described in the following table. The table also displays results for patients less than or greater than or equal to the age of 65 years. The differences in rates between the CELEBREX alone and CELEBREX with ASA groups may be due to the higher risk for GI events in ASA users.

In a small number of patients with a history of ulcer disease, the complicated and symptomatic ulcer rates in patients taking CELEBREX alone or CELEBREX with ASA were, respectively, 2.56% (n=243) and 6.85% (n=91) at 48 weeks. These results are to be expected in patients with a prior history of ulcer disease (see WARNINGS — Gastrointestinal (GI) Effects — Risk of GI Ulceration, Bleeding, and Perforation).

Complicated and symptomatic ulcer rates **in patients taking CELEBREX 400 mg BID (Kaplan-Meier rates at 9 months) based on risk factors were:** All Patients - Celebrex alone (n=3105) 0.78% and Celebrex with ASA (n=882) 2.19%; Patients < 65 Years - Celebrex alone (n=2025) 0.47% and Celebrex with ASA (n=403) 1.26%; Patients ≥ 65 Years - Celebrex alone (n=1080) 1.40% and Celebrex with ASA (n=479) 3.06%.

Anaphylactoid Reactions: As with NSAIDs in general, anaphylactoid reactions have occurred in patients without known prior exposure to CELEBREX. In post-marketing experience, rare cases of anaphylactic reactions and angioedema have been reported in patients receiving CELEBREX. CELEBREX should not be given to patients with the aspirin triad. This symptom complex typically occurs in asthmatic patients who experience rhinitis with or without nasal polyps, or who exhibit severe, potentially fatal bronchospasm after taking aspirin or other NSAIDs (see CONTRAINDICATIONS and PRECAUTIONS, Preexisting Asthma). Seek emergency help in cases where an anaphylactoid reaction occurs.
Advanced Renal Disease: Treatment with CELEBREX is not recommended, but if it is used, monitoring of kidney function is advised.
Pregnancy: Avoid CELEBREX in late pregnancy because it may cause premature closure of the ductus arteriosus.

PRECAUTIONS
General: CELEBREX cannot be expected to substitute for corticosteroids or to treat corticosteroid insufficiency. The pharmacological activity of CELEBREX in reducing inflammation, and possibly fever, may diminish the utility of these diagnostic signs in detecting infectious complications of presumed noninfectious, painful conditions.
Hepatic Effects: Borderline elevations of one or more liver associated enzymes may occur in up to 15% of patients taking NSAIDs, and notable elevations of ALT or AST (about 3 or more times the upper limit of normal) have been reported in approximately 1% of patients in clinical trials with NSAIDs. These lab abnormalities may or may not change with continuing therapy. Rare cases of severe hepatic reactions, including jaundice and fatal fulminant hepatitis, liver necrosis and hepatic failure (some with fatal outcome) have been reported with NSAIDs, including CELEBREX. In controlled clinical trials of CELEBREX, the incidence of borderline elevations (greater than or equal to 1.2 times and less than 3 times the upper limit of normal) of liver associated enzymes was 6% for CELEBREX and 5% for placebo, and about 0.2% of patients taking CELEBREX and 0.3% of patients taking placebo had notable elevations of ALT and AST. A patient with symptoms and/or signs suggesting liver dysfunction, or in whom an abnormal liver test has occurred, should be monitored carefully for evidence of the development of a more severe hepatic reaction while on therapy with CELEBREX. Discontinue CELEBREX if clinical signs and symptoms of liver disease develop, or if systemic manifestations occur (e.g., eosinophilia, rash).
Renal Effects: Long-term administration of NSAIDs has resulted in renal papillary necrosis and other renal injury. Renal toxicity has also been seen in patients in whom renal prostaglandins have a compensatory role in the maintenance of renal perfusion. In these patients, NSAIDs may cause a dose-dependent reduction in prostaglandin formation and, secondarily, in renal blood flow, which may precipitate overt renal decompensation. Patients at greatest risk of this reaction are those with impaired renal function, heart failure, or liver dysfunction, those taking diuretics and ACE inhibitors, and the elderly. Discontinuation of NSAID therapy is usually followed by recovery to the pretreatment state. Clinical trials with CELEBREX have shown renal effects similar to those observed with comparator NSAIDs. Use caution when initiating treatment with CELEBREX in patients with considerable dehydration. Rehydrate patients first and then start therapy with CELEBREX. Use caution in patients with pre-existing kidney disease (see WARNINGS, Advanced Renal Disease).
Hematological Effects: In controlled clinical trials the incidence of anemia was 0.6% with CELEBREX and 0.4% with placebo. Patients on long-term treatment with CELEBREX should have their hemoglobin or hematocrit checked if they exhibit any signs or symptoms of anemia or blood loss. CELEBREX does not generally affect platelet counts, prothrombin time (PT), or partial thromboplastin time (PTT), and does not inhibit platelet aggregation at indicated dosages.
Fluid Retention, Edema, and Hypertension: Fluid retention and edema have been observed in some patients taking CELEBREX (see ADVERSE REACTIONS). In the CLASS study (see Special Studies — Use with Aspirin), the Kaplan-Meier cumulative rates at 9 months of peripheral edema in patients on CELEBREX 400 mg BID (4-fold and 2-fold the recommended OA and RA doses, respectively), ibuprofen 800 mg TID and diclofenac 75 mg BID were 4.5%, 6.9% and 4.7%, respectively. The rates of hypertension in the CELEBREX, ibuprofen and diclofenac treated patients were 2.4%, 4.2% and 2.5%, respectively. As with other NSAIDs, CELEBREX should be used with caution in patients with fluid retention, hypertension, or heart failure.
Preexisting Asthma: Do not use in patients with aspirin-sensitive asthma because of the risk of severe bronchospasm. Use with caution in patients with preexisting asthma.
Information for Patients: Inform patients of the following: GI bleeding which may result in hospitalization and fatal outcomes; to be alert for signs and symptoms of ulcerations and bleeding, and seek medical advice should these be observed; to promptly report GI ulceration or bleeding, skin rash, unexplained weight gain, or edema; to stop therapy and seek immediate medical help if they experience warning signs and symptoms of hepatotoxicity; to seek immediate emergency help in the case of an anaphylactoid reaction; and to avoid CELEBREX in late pregnancy.
Laboratory Tests: Because serious GI tract ulcerations and bleeding can occur without warning symptoms, monitor for signs or symptoms of GI bleeding. In controlled clinical trials, elevated BUN occurred more frequently in patients receiving CELEBREX compared with patients on placebo. This laboratory abnormality was also seen in patients who received comparator NSAIDs in these studies. The clinical significance of this abnormality has not been established.
Drug Interactions: ***General:*** Celecoxib metabolism is predominantly mediated via cytochrome P450 2C9 in the liver. Co-administration of celecoxib with drugs that are known to inhibit 2C9 should be done with caution. *In vitro* studies indicate that celecoxib, although not a substrate, is an inhibitor of cytochrome P450 2D6. Therefore, there is a potential for an *in vivo* drug interaction with drugs that are metabolized by P450 2D6. ***ACE-inhibitors:*** Reports suggest that NSAIDs may diminish the antihypertensive effect of Angiotensin Converting Enzyme (ACE) inhibitors. ***Furosemide:*** Clinical studies, and post marketing observations, have shown that NSAIDs can reduce the natriuretic effect of furosemide and thiazides in some patients. ***Aspirin:*** CELEBREX can be used with low-dose aspirin; however, concomitant administration increases the rate of GI ulceration or other complications, compared to use of CELEBREX alone. **Because of its lack of platelet effects, CELEBREX is not a substitute for aspirin for cardiovascular prophylaxis.** ***Fluconazole:*** Concomitant administration of fluconazole 200 mg QD resulted in a two-fold increase in celecoxib plasma concentration is due to the inhibition of celecoxib metabolism via P450 2C9 by fluconazole. Initiate CELEBREX at the lowest recommended dose in patients receiving fluconazole. ***Lithium:*** Mean steady-state lithium plasma levels increased approximately 17% in healthy subjects receiving lithium 450 mg BID with CELEBREX 200 mg BID compared with those receiving lithium alone. Closely monitor patients on lithium when CELEBREX is introduced or withdrawn. ***Methotrexate:*** CELEBREX did not have a significant effect on the pharmacokinetics of methotrexate in rheumatoid arthritis patients. ***Warfarin:*** Monitor anticoagulant activity, particularly in the first few days, after initiating or changing therapy with CELEBREX in patients receiving warfarin or similar agents; these patients are at an increased risk of bleeding complications. In healthy subjects receiving daily doses of 2-5 mg of warfarin, celecoxib did not alter the anticoagulant effect of warfarin as determined by prothrombin time. However, in post-marketing experience, bleeding events have been reported, predominantly in the elderly, in association with increases in prothrombin time in patients receiving CELEBREX concurrently with warfarin. ***Carcinogenesis, mutagenesis, impairment of fertility:*** Celecoxib was not carcinogenic in rats given oral doses up to 200 mg/kg for males and 10 mg/kg for females (approximately 2- to 4-fold the human exposure as measured by the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ at 200 mg BID) or in mice given oral doses up to 25 mg/kg for males and 50 mg/kg for females (approximately equal to human exposure as measured by the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ at 200 mg BID) for two years. Celecoxib was not mutagenic in an Ames test and a mutation assay in Chinese hamster ovary (CHO) cells, nor clastogenic in a chromosome aberration assay in CHO cells and an in vivo micronucleus test in rat bone marrow. Celecoxib did not impair male and female fertility in rats at oral doses up to 600 mg/kg/day (approximately 11-fold human exposure at 200 mg BID based on the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$).
Pregnancy: Teratogenic effects: Pregnancy Category C. Celecoxib at oral doses ≥ 150 mg/kg/day (about 2-fold human exposure at 200 mg BID as measured by $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$), caused an increased incidence of ventricular septal defects, a rare event, and fetal alterations, such as ribs fused, sternebrae fused and sternebrae misshapen when rabbits were treated throughout organogenesis. A dose-dependent increase in diaphragmatic hernias was observed when rats were given celecoxib at oral doses ≥ 30 mg/kg/day (about 6-fold human exposure based on the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ at 200 mg BID) throughout organogenesis. There are no studies in pregnant women. Use CELEBREX during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus. ***Nonteratogenic effects:*** Celecoxib produced pre- and post-implantation losses and reduced embryo/fetal survival in rats at oral dosages ≥ 50 mg/kg/day (about 6-fold human exposure based on the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ at 200 mg BID). These changes are expected with inhibition of prostaglandin synthesis and are not the result of permanent alteration of female reproductive function, nor are they expected at clinical exposures. No human studies have been conducted on the effect of celecoxib on the closure of the ductus arteriosus. Use of CELEBREX during the third trimester of pregnancy should be avoided. ***Labor and delivery:*** Celecoxib produced no evidence of delayed labor or parturition at oral doses up to 100 mg/kg in rats (about 7-fold human exposure as measured by the $AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ at 200 mg BID). The effects of CELEBREX on labor and delivery in pregnant women are unknown. ***Nursing mothers:*** It is not known whether this drug is excreted in human milk. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk and because of the potential for serious adverse reactions in nursing infants from CELEBREX, a decision should be made whether to discontinue nursing or to discontinue the drug, taking into account the importance of the drug to the mother. ***Pediatric Use:*** Safety and effectiveness in pediatric patients below the age of 18 years have not been evaluated. ***Geriatric Use:*** Of the total number of patients who received CELEBREX in clinical trials, more than 3,300 were 65-74 years of age, while approximately 1,300 additional patients were 75 years and over. No substantial differences in effectiveness were observed between these subjects and younger subjects. In clinical studies comparing renal function as measured by the GFR, BUN and creatinine, and platelet function as measured by bleeding time and platelet aggregation, the results were not different between elderly and young volunteers. However, as with other NSAIDs, including those that selectively inhibit COX-2, there have been more spontaneous post-marketing reports of fatal GI events and acute renal failure in the elderly than in younger patients (see WARNINGS — Gastrointestinal (GI)Effects — Risk of GI Ulceration, Bleeding, and Perforation).

ADVERSE REACTIONS
Adverse events occurring in ≥2% of Celebrex patients from Celebrex premarketing controlled arthritis trials, regardless of causality at recommended doses (n=4146): abdominal pain 4.1%, diarrhea 5.6%, dyspepsia 8.8%, flatulence 2.2%, nausea 3.5%, back pain 2.8%, peripheral edema 2.1%, injury-accidental 2.9%, dizziness 2.0%, headache 15.8%, insomnia 2.3%, pharyngitis 2.3%, rhinitis 2.0%, sinusitis 5.0%, upper respiratory tract infection 8.1%, rash 2.2%. 7.1% of patients receiving CELEBREX and 6.1% for placebo discontinued due to adverse events in placebo or active controlled clinical trials. Among the most common reasons for discontinuation due to adverse events in the CELEBREX treatment groups were dyspepsia and abdominal pain (0.8% and 0.7%, respectively). Among placebo patients, 0.6% discontinued due to dyspepsia and 0.6% due to abdominal pain. The following adverse events occurred in 0.1-1.9% of patients regardless of causality.
Celebrex (100-200 mg BID or 200 mg QD): GI: Constipation, diverticulitis, dysphagia, eructation, esophagitis, gastritis, gastroenteritis, gastroesophageal reflux, hemorrhoids, hiatal hernia, melena, dry mouth, stomatitis, tenesmus, tooth disorder, vomiting; ***Cardiovascular:*** Aggravated hypertension, angina pectoris, coronary artery disorder, myocardial infarction; ***General:*** Allergy aggravated, allergic reaction, asthenia, chest pain, cyst NOS, edema generalized, face edema, fatigue, fever, hot flushes, influenza-like symptoms, pain, peripheral pain; ***Resistance mechanism disorders:*** Herpes simplex, herpes zoster, infection bacterial, infection fungal, infection soft tissue, infection viral, moniliasis, moniliasis genital, otitis media; ***Central, peripheral nervous system:*** Leg cramps, hypertonia, hypoesthesia, migraine, neuralgia, neuropathy, paresthesia, vertigo; ***Female reproductive:*** Breast fibroadenosis, breast neoplasm, breast pain, dysmenorrhea, menstrual disorder, vaginal hemorrhage, vaginitis; ***Male reproductive:*** Prostatic disorder; ***Hearing and vestibular:*** Deafness, ear abnormality, earache, tinnitus; ***Heart rate and rhythm:*** Palpitation, tachycardia; ***Liver and biliary system:*** Hepatic function abnormal, SGOT increased, SGPT increased; ***Metabolic and nutritional:*** BUN increased, CPK increased, diabetes mellitus, hypercholesterolemia, hyperglycemia, hypokalemia, NPN increase, creatinine increased, alkaline phosphatase increased, weight increase; ***Musculoskeletal:*** Arthralgia, arthrosis, bone disorder, fracture accidental, myalgia, neck stiffness, synovitis, tendinitis; ***Platelets (bleeding or clotting):*** Ecchymosis, epistaxis, thrombocythemia; ***Psychiatric:*** Anorexia, anxiety, appetite increased, depression, nervousness, somnolence; ***Hemic:*** Anemia; ***Respiratory:*** Bronchitis, bronchospasm, bronchospasm aggravated, coughing, dyspnea, laryngitis, pneumonia; ***Skin and appendages:*** Alopecia, dermatitis, nail disorder, photosensitivity reaction, pruritus, rash erythematous, rash maculopapular, skin disorder, skin dry, sweating increased, urticaria; ***Application site disorders:*** Cellulitis, dermatitis contact, injection site reaction, skin nodule; ***Special senses:*** Taste perversion; ***Urinary system:*** Albuminuria, cystitis, dysuria, hematuria, micturition frequency, renal calculus, urinary incontinence, urinary tract infection; ***Vision:*** Blurred vision, cataract, conjunctivitis, eye pain, glaucoma.
Other serious adverse reactions which occur rarely (estimated < 0.1%), regardless of causality: Cases reported only in the post-marketing experience are indicated in italics. ***Cardiovascular:*** Syncope, congestive heart failure, ventricular fibrillation, pulmonary embolism, cerebrovascular accident, peripheral gangrene, thrombophlebitis, *vasculitis;* ***GI:*** Intestinal obstruction, intestinal perforation, GI bleeding, colitis with bleeding, esophageal perforation, pancreatitis, ileus; ***Liver and biliary system:*** Cholelithiasis, *hepatitis, jaundice, liver failure;* ***Hemic and lymphatic:*** Thrombocytopenia, agranulocytosis, *aplastic anemia, pancytopenia, leukopenia;* ***Metabolic:*** *Hypoglycemia, hyponatremia;* ***Nervous system:*** *Aseptic meningitis,* ataxia, suicide; ***Renal:*** Acute renal failure, *interstitial nephritis;* ***Skin:*** *Erythema multiforme, exfoliative dermatitis, Stevens-Johnson syndrome, toxic epidermal necrolysis;* ***General:*** Sepsis, sudden death, *anaphylactoid reaction, angioedema.*

Safety Data from CLASS Study:
Hematological Events:
During this study (see Special Studies — Use with Aspirin), the incidence of clinically significant decreases in hemoglobin (>2 g/dL) confirmed by repeat testing was lower in patients on CELEBREX 400 mg BID (4-fold and 2-fold the recommended OA and RA doses, respectively) compared to patients on either diclofenac 75 mg BID or ibuprofen 800 mg TID: 0.5%, 1.3% and 1.9%, respectively. The lower incidence of events with CELEBREX was maintained with or without ASA use (see CLINICAL STUDIES — Special Studies — Platelets).

Withdrawals/Serious Adverse Events:
Kaplan-Meier cumulative rates at 9 months for withdrawals due to adverse events for CELEBREX, diclofenac and ibuprofen were 24%, 29%, and 26%, respectively. Rates for serious adverse events regardless of causality were not different across treatment groups, respectively, 8%, 7%, and 8%.

Based on Kaplan-Meier cumulative rates for investigator-reported serious cardiovascular thromboembolic adverse events (includes myocardial infarction, pulmonary embolism, deep venous thrombosis, unstable angina, transient ischemic attacks or ischemic cerebrovascular accidents), there were no differences between the CELEBREX, diclofenac, or ibuprofen treatment groups. The rates in all patients at 9 months for CELEBREX, diclofenac, and ibuprofen were 1.2%, 1.4%, and 1.1%, respectively. The rates for non-ASA users in each of the three treatment groups were less than 1%. The rates for myocardial infarction in each of the three non-ASA treatment groups were less than 0.2%.

Adverse events from analgesia and dysmenorrhea studies: About 1,700 patients were treated with CELEBREX in analgesia and dysmenorrhea studies. All patients in post-oral surgery pain studies received a single dose of study medication. Doses up to 600 mg/day of CELEBREX were studied in primary dysmenorrhea and post-orthopedic surgery pain studies. The types of adverse events in the analgesia and dysmenorrhea studies were similar to those reported in arthritis studies. The only additional adverse event reported was post-dental extraction alveolar osteitis (dry socket) in the post-oral surgery pain studies.

OVERDOSAGE
Doses up to 2400 mg/day for up to 10 days in 12 patients did not result in serious toxicity. Symptoms following acute NSAID overdoses are usually limited to lethargy, drowsiness, nausea, vomiting, and epigastric pain, which are generally reversible with supportive care. GI bleeding can occur. Hypertension, acute renal failure, respiratory depression and coma may occur, but are rare. Anaphylactoid reactions have been reported with therapeutic ingestion of NSAIDs, and may occur following an overdose. Manage patients by symptomatic and supportive care following an overdose. There are no specific antidotes. Dialysis is unlikely to be useful. Emesis and/or activated charcoal (60 to 100 g in adults, 1 to 2 g/kg in children) and/or osmotic cathartic may be indicated in patients seen within 4 hours of ingestion with symptoms or following a large overdose. Forced diuresis, alkalinization of urine, hemodialysis, or hemoperfusion may not be useful.

DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION
Osteoarthritis - 200 mg QD or 100 mg BID.
Rheumatoid arthritis - 100 or 200 mg BID.
Acute Pain and Primary Dysmenorrhea - 400 mg initially followed by an additional 200 mg dose if needed on the first day. On subsequent days, 200 mg BID.
Hepatic Insufficiency: Reduce daily dosage by 50% for patients with moderate hepatic impairment (Child-Pugh Class B).

Rx only August 2002

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PHARMACIA Pfizer

"If it didn't stink," says one historian, "it didn't work."

New Orleans. "During the yellow fever outbreaks, everybody feared the mail," says Nancy Pope, a historian at the National Postal Museum, where the paddle now resides. "They were scared of the delivery system, because they thought it would spread the epidemic—and so could kill."

Mandated by Alabama's Board of Health and wielded by postal employees, the perforation paddle, as the curious implement was known, punctured thousands of envelopes and packages. (The theory held that a piece of mail might contain an agent of infection; the puncture allowed for fumigants to penetrate the letter and kill it.) All correspondence was then spirited away to a railway car or shed, where it was subjected to sanitizing fumes, either of sulfur or formaldehyde. Only then was it forwarded to recipients.

Maxie Pepperman, a witness to the 1897 epidemic—and later a newspaper reporter—described the procedure. "Each letter was perforated with many holes and the vapor blown into the envelope to kill the germs," Pepperman wrote. "I remember that a man named Stebbins, who was employed at the local post office and who handled mail, died of the yellow fever. After that, very few people would touch a letter from an infected area even if it had been fumigated." At the very least, the public likely would not have objected to a letter that arrived exuding a faint whiff of sulfur. After all, Montgomery's citizens were already walking around with lumps of the stuff packed in their shoes. Anxious individuals also placed carbolic acid-soaked sponges on their windowsills at night, another measure thought to ward off deadly germs.

Health officials (using fumigation tents in Cuba, 1908) once believed noisome fumes could slow the spread of yellow fever.

Former Postal Museum historian James Bruns sums up the medical reasoning of the time. "If it didn't stink, it didn't work," he says. "If it smells so bad, it must be good."

In 1898, a year after the yellow fever outbreak in New Orleans, the United States ignited war with Spain by invading Cuba. There, U.S. military physicians came into contact with a Havana physician, Carlos Juan Finlay, who had spent 19 years researching yellow fever. Finlay theorized, correctly, that the disease was transmitted by a particular species of mosquito (*Aedes aegyptis*). He provided Maj. Walter Reed and other Army researchers with mosquitoes; the insects obligingly bit volunteers among the enlisted men, and in 1900, the Army's Yellow Fever Commission proved Finlay's theory. Across America, municipalities ceased attacking the mail and turned their efforts instead to standing water in cisterns and gutters—sites where mosquitoes spawn. (As if to illustrate the futility of perforation and sanitation by sulfur, the paddle bears a hand-drawn portrait of the real culprit.)

ALTHOUGH 19th-century postal workers were in no danger of contracting yellow fever from perforating or fumigating the mail, that fact, known to us only in hindsight, does not detract from the bravery demonstrated by post office employees of the time. Like most hazardous postal jobs, decontamination was the specialty of railway mail clerks, who oversaw the transporting of mail between cities. "They were the Marine Corps of the Postal Service," says Bruns. "There are accounts of train wrecks where the train caught fire, and people would find the clerks' bodies literally on top of the mail, protecting it at the cost of their lives."

Even in the 1897 epidemic, one aspect of the mail remained unchanged: for the most part, the perforated letters contained accounts of ordinary events. Fifty-three years after the fact, Lance Johnston recalled waiting out the epidemic on a farm while his parents remained in Montgomery. "Whenever we received mail, which was seldom," he said, "it bore marks showing that it had been to Atlanta and was fumigated and had little holes punched through the envelope. During this time my mother wrote me that my billy goat had died, not from the fever, however, but from overeating."

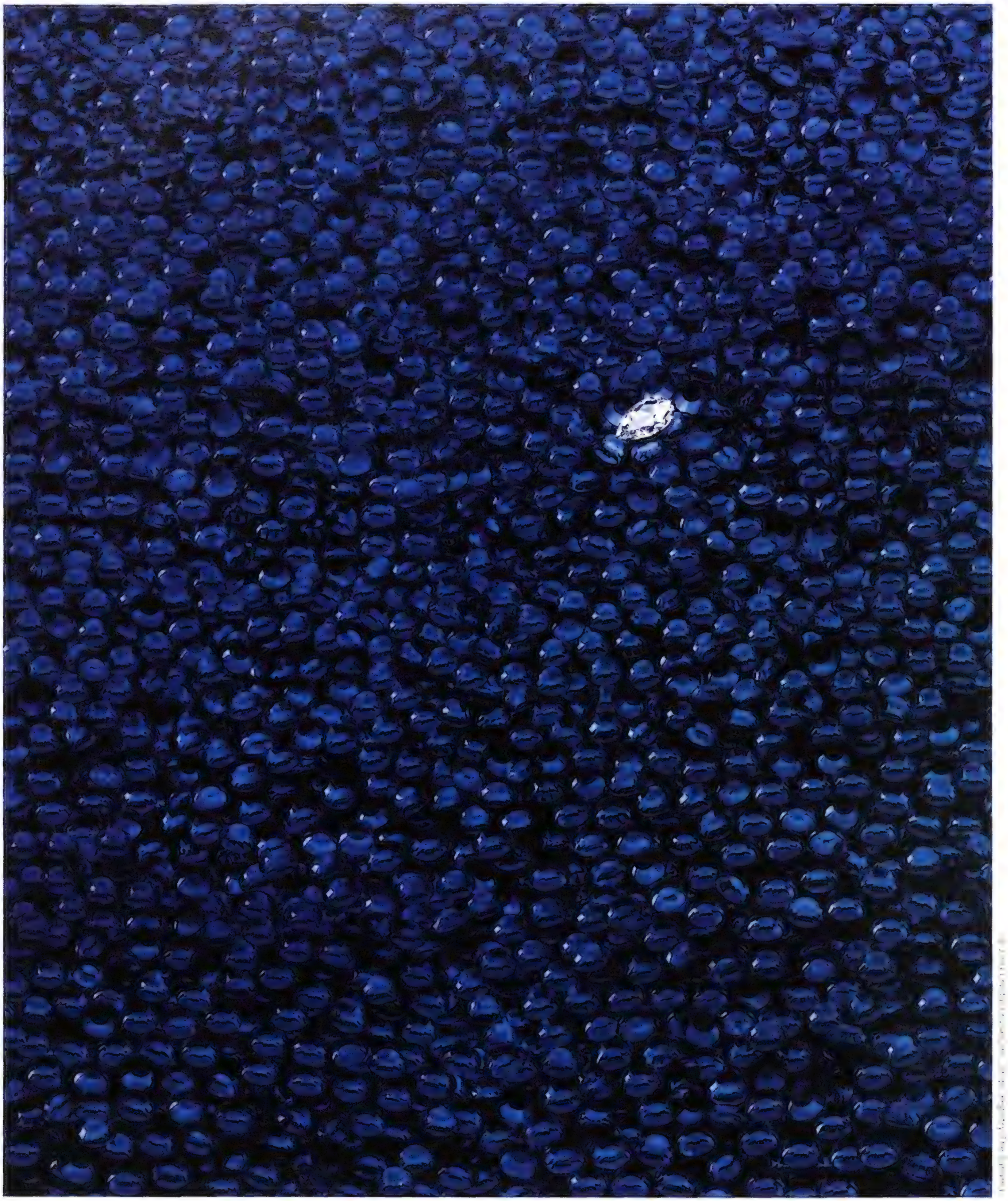
In 2001, more than a century after that letter was written, two Washington, D.C. postal workers died from exposure to airborne anthrax. "For so many years, it was feared that the mail could bring disease, and it turned out it had not," says historian Pope. "Then, with the nationwide anthrax scare, we find that, yes, mail can become an instrument for carrying death." ○

ED LEIBOWITZ is a freelance writer who is based in Los Angeles, California.

PHOTOS: COURTESY NATIONAL POSTAL MUSEUM

STELLAR NURSERY Resembling a red dragon in full gallop, a cloud of dust and gas emerges from obscurity in a November photograph by NASA's new Spitzer Space Telescope. The $670 million observatory uses breakthrough infrared technology to capture the cloud, which is 2,450 light-years away and is the birthplace of half a dozen young stars, seen here as red-tinted objects along its southern rim. The composite photograph combines data from Spitzer's multiband imaging photometer and its Infrared Array Camera, which was developed by the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. —*HELEN E. STARKWEATHER*

NASA / JPL-CALTECH / W. REACH (SSC / CALTECH)



CRYSTAL CRUISES

As gritty as the set itself (note the cast-iron sink), the characters of "The Honeymooners" (Jackie Gleason, Art Carney and Audrey Meadows) forged a new kind of blue-collar sitcom.

Down the Drain

It felt like "pow! right in the kisser" when the Smithsonian's David Shayt had to give up his quest for a kitchen sink from the 1950s TV series "The Honeymooners"

"YOU'RE STILL AT IT?" David Shayt's daughter asked him one mid-November evening. He was. The National Museum of American History staff member was three hours into a marathon screening of the 1950s television series "The Honeymooners" in his Gaithersburg, Maryland, kitchen.

Just another evening in suburbia? No, this was *work*. Shayt, a historian of pop culture, was in the midst of what would become a grueling battle to add a one-of-a-kind object to the museum's collection of some 3.5 million items.

Shayt had first seen the object in a Christie's auction catalog of "entertainment memorabilia" in New York City. There, along with the bowler hat Liza Minnelli wore in the film *Cabaret* and some Patsy Cline dresses, was the enameled, cast-iron, double-faucet kitchen sink used by Ralph and Alice Kramden in their Brooklyn tenement.

American History museum curators have long sought artifacts from that groundbreaking 1950s television comedy, whose characters embodied the workaday fantasies and frustrations of many a postwar city dweller. The show's episodes would influence a succession of sitcoms, from the "The Flintstones," "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" to more recent shows like "Seinfeld" and "The Simpsons."

But as Shayt researched the sink, actor Art Carney, who won five Emmies for his portrayal of Jackie Gleason's hapless sidekick, sewer worker Ed Norton, died November 9, after a long illness, raising the value of the props.

When Shayt saw the kitchen sink in the Christie's catalog, he bought a boxed set of "Honeymooners" videos and scoured the Internet for other film images of the sink. And he petitioned the museum's Collections Committee for emergency funds to compete against deep-pocketed private collectors.

The committee had reservations about the estimated $6,000 price tag and about the sink's significance and authenticity. The committee called an emergency session. Why not Ralph Kramden's lunch box? His bus driver's uniform? No, said Shayt, it had to be the sink.

After all, it was the kitchen sink—not a hearth or a piano—that anchored the show's dynamics. Always breaking down, leaking or going dry, "the unadorned sink was sewer man

Liza Minnelli's Sally Bowles looked, as she might have put it, "divinely decadent" in the bowler now owned by the National History Museum.

Ed Norton's territory as much as it was Alice's domain—the kitchen is their universe," says Shayt. But was this one the real thing, beyond a shadow of a doubt?

It was to answer that question that Shayt had retired to his own kitchen, screening episode after episode. With a magnifying glass in hand, he measured the sink's dimensions. He studied its bends and curves, dips and shadows, looking for any feature that might identify it conclusively. At last he was done. "I've seen enough," he said. The faucets, he was sure, were not the same. Furthermore, the Christie's sink had been painted several times, which made absolute identification impossible. The next morning, a weary, resigned Shayt notified the committee: "My sink-collecting request is hereby down the drain."

All was not lost, however. Shayt did acquire, certain of its provenance, Liza Minnelli's bowler and a costume once worn by Patsy Cline.

—VICTORIA DAWSON

◂ FROM THE ATTIC ▸

SAFETY IS JOB ONE "Visitors to the Smithsonian have been rather mystified at the clouds of dust and the evidences of labor," reported the *Washington Post* of July 26, 1879. The Institution's castle building, crammed to its towers with growing collections of insect, fish, bird and mineral specimens, had no place to display it all. So Congress appropriated $250,000 (roughly $4.4 million today) to create a new Smithsonian National Museum. The building committee included (above, left to right) Civil War veterans Montgomery Meigs and William Tecumseh Sherman, Dr. Peter Parker (in top hat), Smithsonian secretary Spencer Baird, architect Adolf Cluss and clerks W. J. Rhees and Daniel Leech. Cluss' 2.3-acre structure would house 17 galleries. A German immigrant who had designed some 50 buildings in the nation's capital, Cluss was also a well-known supporter of the Republican Party—and budding Marxist. In the early 1980s, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, files discovered in East Germany revealed a five-year correspondence between the architect and Karl Marx about the injustices of U.S. labor practices. Cluss practiced what he preached. In October 1879, following a ladder fall by a young construction worker, the architect chastised the site's brick contractors for unsafe working practices. "We shall not," wrote Cluss, "allow any mechanics to work on insecure scaffolds." Cluss finished the job in 23 months—on time and on budget. Last October, the aging 124-year-old structure (now known as the Arts and Industries Building) was ordered closed for a complete renovation. *—BETH PY-LIEBERMAN*

It's Different For People with Acid Reflux Disease.

How often is it that you're up at night because heartburn just won't leave you alone? If you've changed your diet, treated the symptoms, but still suffer from persistent heartburn 2 or more days a week, you could have acid reflux disease. And if you do, it can affect everything, from how you sleep to what you eat. But for many people, just one prescription NEXIUM daily–along with sensible diet and lifestyle changes–can take away the heartburn, day and night, for a full 24 hours.

Relieve the heartburn. Heal the damage.

NEXIUM tackles acid reflux at the source. That's important because even a little heartburn, over time, can still mean serious damage to your esophagus. For most people, NEXIUM heals that damage. Your results may vary.

Unlike your stomach, your esophagus offers no protection against churning acid. When acid rises into the esophagus, it can eventually wear away the lining. This condition is called erosive esophagitis and only a doctor can determine if you have it.

NEXIUM works by "turning off" many of the pumps that produce acid. Once the amount of acid has been reduced, NEXIUM can begin to heal any erosions caused by acid reflux disease. Most erosions heal in 4 to 8 weeks with NEXIUM. Your results may vary.

Talk with your health care professional to see if NEXIUM is right for you. NEXIUM has a low occurrence of side effects, including headache, diarrhea and abdominal pain. Symptom relief does not rule out serious stomach conditions.

Don't let acid reflux keep you up.

Relief. Healing. NEXIUM.

Nexium®
(esomeprazole magnesium)

For a Free Trial Offer, visit us at purplepill.com or call 1-800-79-NEXIUM

Please read the important Product Information about NEXIUM on the following page and discuss it with your doctor.

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Please read this summary carefully, and then ask your doctor about NEXIUM. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to prescribe a drug. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your doctor. Only your doctor has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug for you.

Nexium® *(esomeprazole magnesium)*

20-MG, 40-MG Delayed-Release Capsules

BRIEF SUMMARY Before prescribing NEXIUM, please see full Prescribing Information. **INDICATIONS AND USAGE** NEXIUM is indicated for the short-term treatment (4 to 8 weeks) in the healing and symptomatic resolution of diagnostically confirmed erosive esophagitis. **CONTRAINDICATIONS** NEXIUM is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to any component of the formulation or to substituted benzimidazoles. **PRECAUTIONS** Symptomatic response to therapy with NEXIUM does not preclude the presence of gastric malignancy. Atrophic gastritis has been noted occasionally in gastric corpus biopsies from patients treated long-term with omeprazole, of which NEXIUM is a component. **Information for Patients** NEXIUM Delayed-Release Capsules should be taken at least one hour before meals. For patients who have difficulty swallowing capsules, one tablespoon of applesauce can be added to an empty bowl and the NEXIUM Delayed-Release Capsules can be opened, and the pellets carefully emptied onto the applesauce. The pellets should be mixed with the applesauce and then swallowed immediately. The applesauce used should not be hot and should be soft enough to be swallowed without chewing. The pellets should not be chewed or crushed. The pellet/applesauce mixture should not be stored for future use. Antacids may be used while taking NEXIUM. **Drug Interactions** Esomeprazole is extensively metabolized in the liver by CYP2C19 and CYP3A4. *In vitro* and *in vivo* studies have shown that esomeprazole is not likely to inhibit CYPs 1A2, 2A6, 2C9, 2D6, 2E1 and 3A4. No clinically relevant interactions with drugs metabolized by these CYP enzymes would be expected. Drug interaction studies have shown that esomeprazole does not have any clinically significant interactions with phenytoin, warfarin, quinidine, clarithromycin or amoxicillin. Post-marketing reports of changes in prothrombin measures have been received among patients on concomitant warfarin and esomeprazole therapy. Increases in INR and prothrombin time may lead to abnormal bleeding and even death. Patients treated with proton pump inhibitors and warfarin concomitantly may need to be monitored for increases in INR and prothrombin time. Esomeprazole may potentially interfere with CYP2C19, the major esomeprazole metabolizing enzyme. Coadministration of esomeprazole 30 mg and diazepam, a CYP2C19 substrate, resulted in a 45% decrease in clearance of diazepam. Increased plasma levels of diazepam were observed 12 hours after dosing and onwards. However, at that time, the plasma levels of diazepam were below the therapeutic interval, and thus this interaction is unlikely to be of clinical relevance. Esomeprazole inhibits gastric acid secretion. Therefore, esomeprazole may interfere with the absorption of drugs where gastric pH is an important determinant of bioavailability (eg, ketoconazole, iron salts and digoxin). Coadministration of oral contraceptives, diazepam, phenytoin, or quinidine did not seem to change the pharmacokinetic profile of esomeprazole. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** The carcinogenic potential of esomeprazole was assessed using omeprazole studies. In two 24-month oral carcinogenicity studies in rats, omeprazole at daily doses of 1.7, 3.4, 13.8, 44.0 and 140.8 mg/kg/day (about 0.7 to 57 times the human dose of 20 mg/day expressed on a body surface area basis) produced gastric ECL cell carcinoids in a dose-related manner in both male and female rats; the incidence of this effect was markedly higher in female rats, which had higher blood levels of omeprazole. Gastric carcinoids seldom occur in the untreated rat. In addition, ECL cell hyperplasia was present in all treated groups of both sexes. In one of these studies, female rats were treated with 13.8 mg omeprazole/kg/day (about 5.6 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) for 1 year, then followed for an additional year without the drug. No carcinoids were seen in these rats. An increased incidence of treatment-related ECL cell hyperplasia was observed at the end of 1 year (94% treated vs 10% controls). By the second year the difference between treated and control rats was much smaller (46% vs 26%) but still showed more hyperplasia in the treated group. Gastric adenocarcinoma was seen in one rat (2%). No similar tumor was seen in male or female rats treated for 2 years. For this strain of rat no similar tumor has been noted historically, but a finding involving only one tumor is difficult to interpret. A 78-week mouse carcinogenicity study of omeprazole did not show increased tumor occurrence, but the study was not conclusive. Esomeprazole was negative in the Ames mutation test, in the *in vivo* rat bone marrow cell chromosome aberration test, and the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test. Esomeprazole, however, was positive in the *in vitro* human lymphocyte chromosome aberration test. Omeprazole was positive in the *in vitro* human lymphocyte chromosome aberration test, the *in vivo* mouse bone marrow cell chromosome aberration test, and the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test. The potential effects of esomeprazole on fertility and reproductive performance were assessed using omeprazole studies. Omeprazole at oral doses up to 138 mg/kg/day in rats (about 56 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) was found to have no effect on reproductive performance of parental animals. **Pregnancy** *Teratogenic Effects. Pregnancy Category B*—Teratology studies have been performed in rats at oral doses up to 280 mg/kg/day (about 57 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) and in rabbits at oral doses up to 86 mg/kg/day (about 35 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) and have revealed no evidence of impaired fertility or harm to the fetus due to esomeprazole. There are, however, no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. Because animal reproduction studies are not always predictive of human response, this drug should be used during pregnancy only if clearly needed. Teratology studies conducted with omeprazole in rats at oral doses up to 138 mg/kg/day (about 56 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) and in rabbits at doses up to 69 mg/kg/day (about 56 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) did not disclose any evidence for a teratogenic potential of omeprazole. In rabbits, omeprazole in a dose range of 6.9 to 69.1 mg/kg/day (about 5.5 to 56 times the human dose on a body surface area basis) produced dose-related increases in embryo-lethality, fetal resorptions, and pregnancy disruptions. In rats, dose-related embryo-fetal toxicity and postnatal developmental toxicity were observed in offspring resulting from parents treated with omeprazole at 13.8 to 138.0 mg/kg/day (about 5.6 to 56 times the human doses on a body surface area basis). There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. Sporadic reports have been received of congenital abnormalities occurring in infants born to women who have received omeprazole during pregnancy. **Nursing Mothers** The excretion of esomeprazole in milk has not been studied. However, omeprazole concentrations have been measured in breast milk of a woman following oral administration of 20 mg. Because esomeprazole is likely to be excreted in human milk, because of the potential for serious adverse reactions in nursing infants from esomeprazole, and because of the potential for tumorigenicity shown for omeprazole in rat carcinogenicity studies, a decision should be made whether to discontinue nursing or to discontinue the drug, taking into account the importance of the drug to the mother. **Pediatric Use** Safety and effectiveness in pediatric patients have not been established. **Geriatric Use** Of the total number of patients who received NEXIUM in clinical trials, 778 were 65 to 74 years of age and 124 patients were ≥ 75 years of age. No overall differences in safety and efficacy were observed between the elderly and younger individuals, and other reported clinical experience has not identified differences in responses between the elderly and younger patients but greater sensitivity of some older individuals cannot be ruled out. **ADVERSE REACTIONS** The safety of NEXIUM was evaluated in over 10,000 patients (aged 18-84 years) in clinical trials worldwide including over 7,400 patients in the United States and over 2,600 patients in Europe and Canada. Over 2,900 patients were treated in long-term studies for up to 6-12 months. In general, NEXIUM was well tolerated in both short- and long-term clinical trials. The safety in the treatment of healing of erosive esophagitis was assessed in four randomized comparative clinical trials, which included 1,240 patients on NEXIUM 20 mg, 2,434 patients on NEXIUM 40 mg, and 3,008 patients on omeprazole 20 mg daily. The most frequently occurring adverse events (≥1%) in all three groups was headache (5.5, 5.0, and 3.8, respectively) and diarrhea (no difference among the three groups). Nausea, flatulence, abdominal pain, constipation, and dry mouth occurred at similar rates among patients taking NEXIUM or omeprazole. Additional adverse events that were reported as possibly or probably related to NEXIUM with an incidence < 1% are listed below by body system: ***Body as a Whole:*** abdomen enlarged, allergic reaction, asthenia, back pain, chest pain, chest pain substernal, facial edema, peripheral edema, hot flushes, fatigue, fever, flu-like disorder, generalized edema, leg edema, malaise, pain, rigors; ***Cardiovascular:*** flushing, hypertension, tachycardia; ***Endocrine:*** goiter; ***Gastrointestinal:*** bowel irregularity, constipation aggravated, dyspepsia, dysphagia, dysplasia GI, epigastric pain, eructation, esophageal disorder, frequent stools, gastroenteritis, GI hemorrhage, GI symptoms not otherwise specified, hiccup, melena, mouth disorder, pharynx disorder, rectal disorder, serum gastrin increased, tongue disorder, tongue edema, ulcerative stomatitis, vomiting; ***Hearing:*** earache, tinnitus; ***Hematologic:*** anemia, anemia hypochromic, cervical lymphoadenopathy, epistaxis, leukocytosis, leukopenia, thrombo-cytopenia; ***Hepatic:*** bilirubinemia, hepatic function abnormal, SGOT increased, SGPT increased; ***Metabolic/Nutritional:*** glycosuria, hyperuricemia, hyponatremia, increased alkaline phosphatase, thirst, vitamin B12 deficiency, weight increase, weight decrease; ***Musculoskeletal:*** arthralgia, arthritis aggravated, arthropathy, cramps, fibromyalgia syndrome, hernia, polymyalgia rheumatica; ***Nervous System/Psychiatric:*** anorexia, apathy, appetite increased, confusion, depression aggravated, dizziness, hypertonia, nervousness, hypoesthesia, impotence, insomnia, migraine, migraine aggravated, paresthesia, sleep disorder, somnolence, tremor, vertigo, visual field defect; ***Reproductive:*** dysmenorrhea, menstrual disorder, vaginitis; ***Respiratory:*** asthma aggravated, coughing, dyspnea, larynx edema, pharyngitis, rhinitis, sinusitis; ***Skin and Appendages:*** acne, angioedema, dermatitis, pruritus, pruritus ani, rash, rash erythematous, rash maculo-papular, skin inflammation, sweating increased, urticaria; ***Special Senses:*** otitis media, parosmia, taste loss, taste perversion; ***Urogenital:*** abnormal urine, albuminuria, cystitis, dysuria, fungal infection, hematuria, micturition frequency, moniliasis, genital moniliasis, polyuria; ***Visual:*** conjunctivitis, vision abnormal. Endoscopic findings that were reported as adverse events include: duodenitis, esophagitis, esophageal stricture, esophageal ulceration, esophageal varices, gastric ulcer, gastritis, hernia, benign polyps or nodules, Barrett's esophagus, and mucosal discoloration. Postmarketing Reports – There have been spontaneous reports of adverse events with postmarketing use of esomeprazole. These reports have included rare cases of anaphylactic reaction. Other adverse events not observed with NEXIUM, but occurring with omeprazole can be found in the omeprazole package insert, **ADVERSE REACTIONS** section. **OVERDOSAGE** A single oral dose of esomeprazole at 510 mg/kg (about 103 times the human dose on a body surface area basis), was lethal to rats. The major signs of acute toxicity were reduced motor activity, changes in respiratory frequency, tremor, ataxia, and intermittent clonic convulsions. There have been some reports of overdosage with esomeprazole. Reports have been received of overdosage with omeprazole in humans. Doses ranged up to 2,400 mg (120 times the usual recommended clinical dose). Manifestations were variable, but included confusion, drowsiness, blurred vision, tachycardia, nausea, diaphoresis, flushing, headache, dry mouth, and other adverse reactions similar to those seen in normal clinical experience (see omeprazole package insert-**ADVERSE REACTIONS**). No specific antidote for esomeprazole is known. Since esomeprazole is extensively protein bound, it is not expected to be removed by dialysis. In the event of overdosage, treatment should be symptomatic and supportive. As with the management of any overdose, the possibility of multiple drug ingestion should be considered. For current information on treatment of any drug overdose, a certified Regional Poison Control Center should be contacted. Telephone numbers are listed in the Physicians' Desk Reference (PDR) or local telephone book.

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The feather crew (from left, Carla Dove, Greg Concepcion and Marcy Heacker) is creating a DNA database to identify bird remains.

When Bird Meets Plane

Smithsonian ornithologists develop a new tool to help pilots steer clear of avian hazards

IT'S NOT PRETTY when birds and airplanes collide. But scientists at the National Museum of Natural History's Feather Lab, who have long identified the avian culprits by their plumes, or what's left of them, are working on an improved method to identify bird remains "Cuisinarted" through jet engines.

Since 1960, 22 military and civilian planes have been destroyed by bird strikes, as bird-aircraft collisions are called. Last year, three small plane-bird collisions killed five people, and in 2002 some 9,900 bird strikes caused $499 million in damages, according to the U.S. Air Force and the Federal Aviation Administration. And since civilian reports are voluntary, the actual numbers may be much higher.

For 40 years, affected pilots have been mailing feathers to Smithsonian bird researchers, today led by the aptly named Carla Dove. Cruising among rows of stacked wooden cases that house some 630,000 specimens in a lab on the museum's top floor of the east wing, the scientists often come up with a match. If not, they may turn to the lab's collection of 2,000 microscope slides detailing minute feather characteristics unique to each family of bird. But when no bird-strike feather fragments are found, no identification can be made.

Now Dove and her colleagues are creating a DNA database that will make identification possible without feathers. Using genetic material from specimens in the collection, they have begun sequencing four genes from the 300 species most often involved in bird strikes. In five years, when the database is complete, "snarge"—the term researchers have coined for avian remains that have passed through a jet engine—will be sequenced and matched to the database. Dove is also developing a pilot-friendly DNA collecting kit.

Identifying collision-prone species and their habitats is important. Bird strikes most often occur on runways during takeoffs and landings, and mowing the airport's grass, letting it grow longer or draining nearby ponds may solve the problem. More drastic measures include patrolling runways with dogs, installing noisemakers or, as a last resort, killing the birds, which requires a federal permit.

By identifying tissue and blood smears, the DNA project may also help aircraft manufacturers make planes more resistant to midair bird collisions. "The more known about the weights of species involved," Dove explains, "the more precisely engines can be calibrated for safety."—*ALICIA AULT*

WHO'S COUNTING?

44,040

VALENTINES—LOVED AND *NOT* LOST—ARE PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES CENTER OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY. THE TRADITION OF EXCHANGING BILLETS-DOUX OF LAUGHING CUPIDS, LACY HEARTS AND NESTLING DOVES HAS BEEN WITH US SINCE THE 1700S. BUT VALENTINE'S DAY (FEBRUARY 14) DIDN'T BECOME A MAJOR AMERICAN HOLIDAY UNTIL THE 1840S, WHEN GREETING CARD MANUFACTURERS BEGAN TO MASS-PRODUCE SENTIMENTAL AND, LATER, COMIC NOTES, SUCH AS THE WORLD WAR II-ERA CARD, LEFT.

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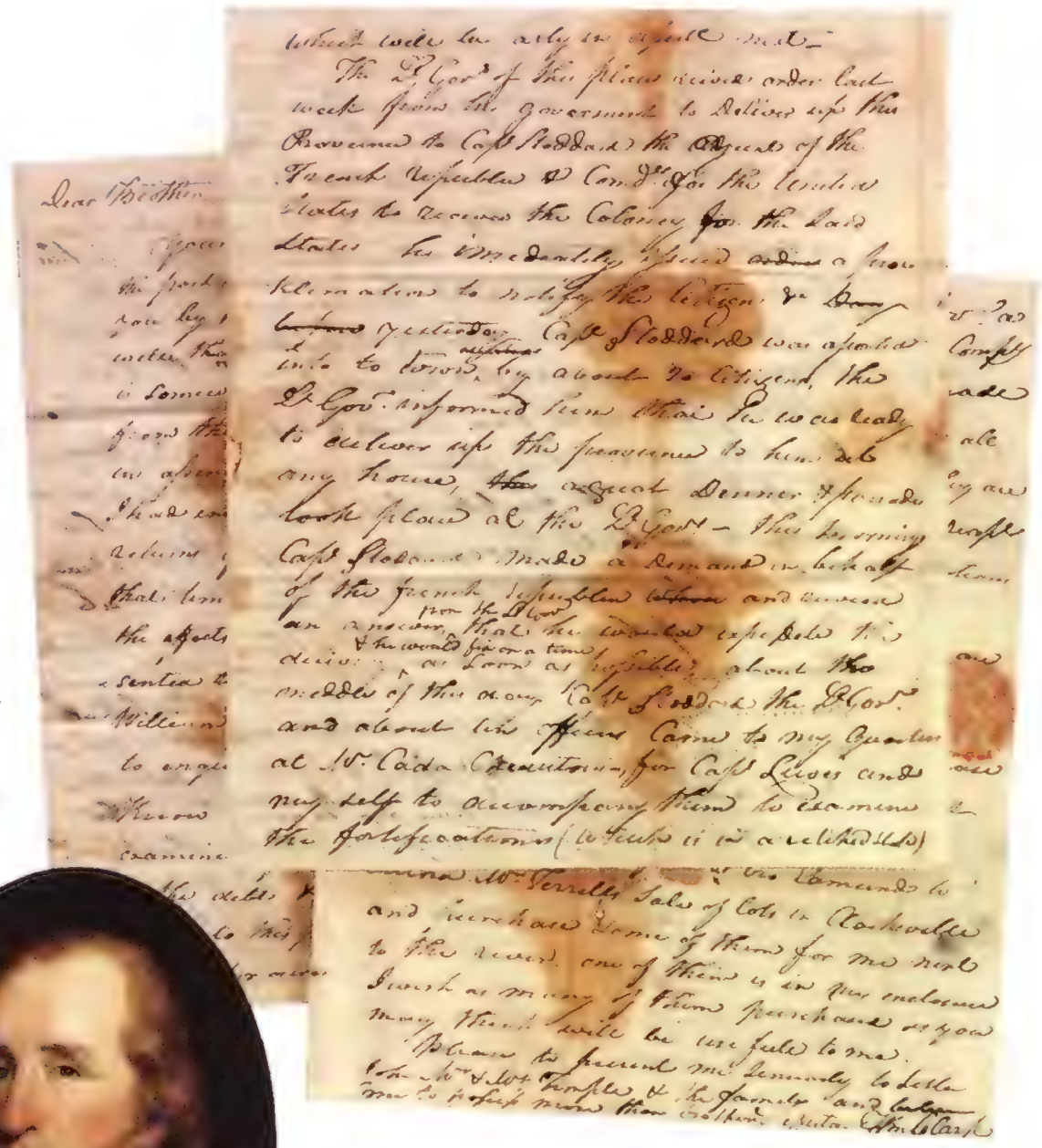
A Sumpcious Dinner

William Clark—a better explorer than speller—tells his older brother of the impending transfer of the Louisiana Territory to the United States

While the expedition was getting organized on the banks of the Mississippi River in February 1804, William Clark wrote to his older brother Jonathan, on whom he had come to rely for guidance and counsel. Twenty years older than William, Jonathan had been a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary War and a British prisoner of war from 1780 to 1781. It was only after Jonathan's parole in 1781, when he returned home to sit out the remainder of the war, that the brothers had gotten to know each other well. As the eldest Clark sibling of ten, Jonathan had become something of a father figure to the younger man. Indeed, when William left Indiana in October 1803 with the fledgling Corps of Discovery, Jonathan spent two days with him, traveling by keelboat down the Ohio River.

In this letter, taken from Dear Brother, *a collection of William Clark's letters edited by James J. Homberg, William tells Jonathan about events leading to the transfer of the Louisiana Territory from French and Spanish rule to American rule, which would take place on March 9, 1804, in St. Louis. (An official land transfer ceremony, lasting 21 days, had been held in New Orleans in late 1803.) The Louisiana Purchase, of course, changed the nature of the expedition from a covert search for a Northwest Passage to an open scouting of trading posts and future settlements.*



Clark: "Capt. Lewis & my self Came to this place a Short time ago, to to [sic] make the ncessary arrangments for our rout up the Missoureis."

Dear Brother
St. Louis 25th Feby. 1804

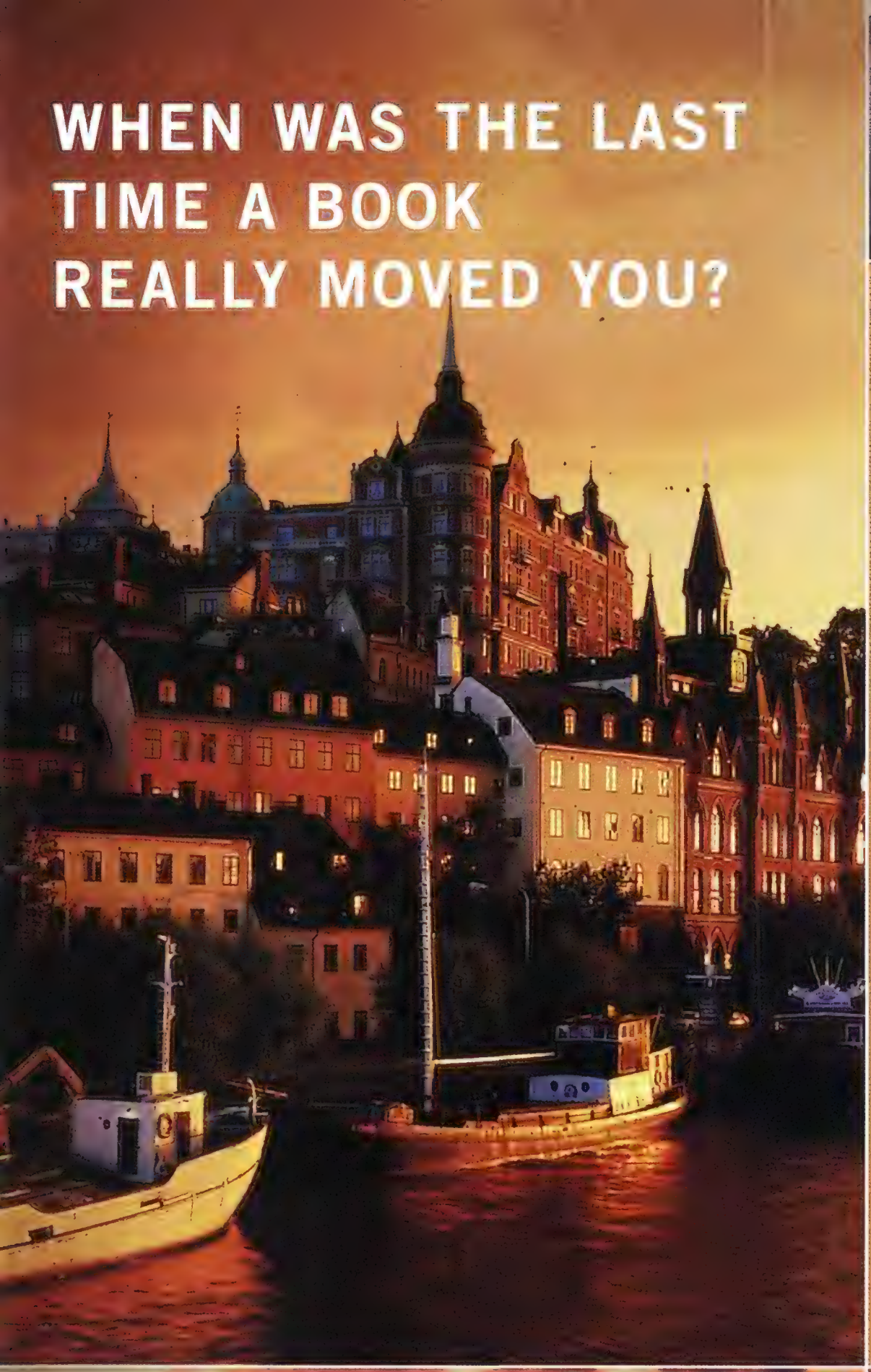
Your letter of the first January I rceivede the post before the last and Should have written you by the last but I was at that time So unwell that I could not. . . . Capt. Lewis & my self Came to this place a Short time ago, to to [sic] make the ncessary arrangments for our rout up the Missoureis, which will be arly in aprill next,

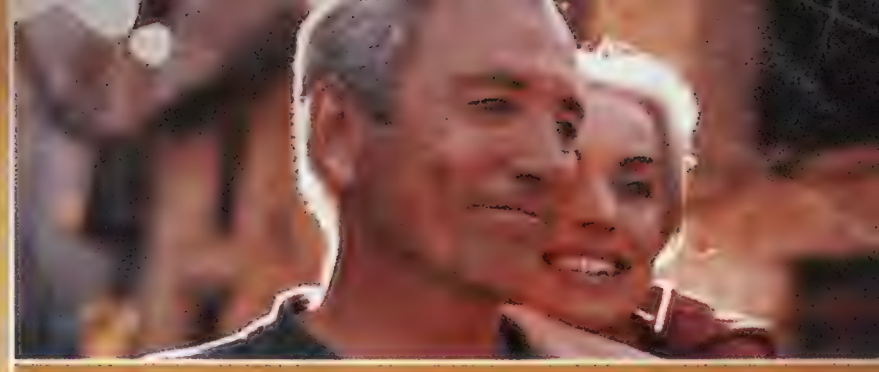
The Lt. Govr. of this place rcived orders last week from his government to Deliver up this Provunce to Capt. Stoddard the Ajunt of the French Republic & Comdt. for the United States to recevee the Coloney for the Said States. . . . a great Dinner & porrade took place at the Lt. Govrs.—this morning Capt. Stoddard made a Demand in behalf of the french republice and recveed an answer, from the Lt. Govr. that he would expeDete the delivery & he would fix on a time as Soon as possible. . . . we dined as yesterday with the Lt. Govr. a most Sumpcious Dinner, & a large Compy. a great Deel of formality and parade was displayed_ Capt. S[toddard] has Shewn me all his orders & c. whuch he intends to issue, they are Such as I highly approve of. . . .

Please to present me Sincearly to Sister John Mr. & Ms. Temple & the famely and believ me to possess more than brothery effection

Wm Clark

WHEN WAS THE LAST TIME A BOOK REALLY MOVED YOU?





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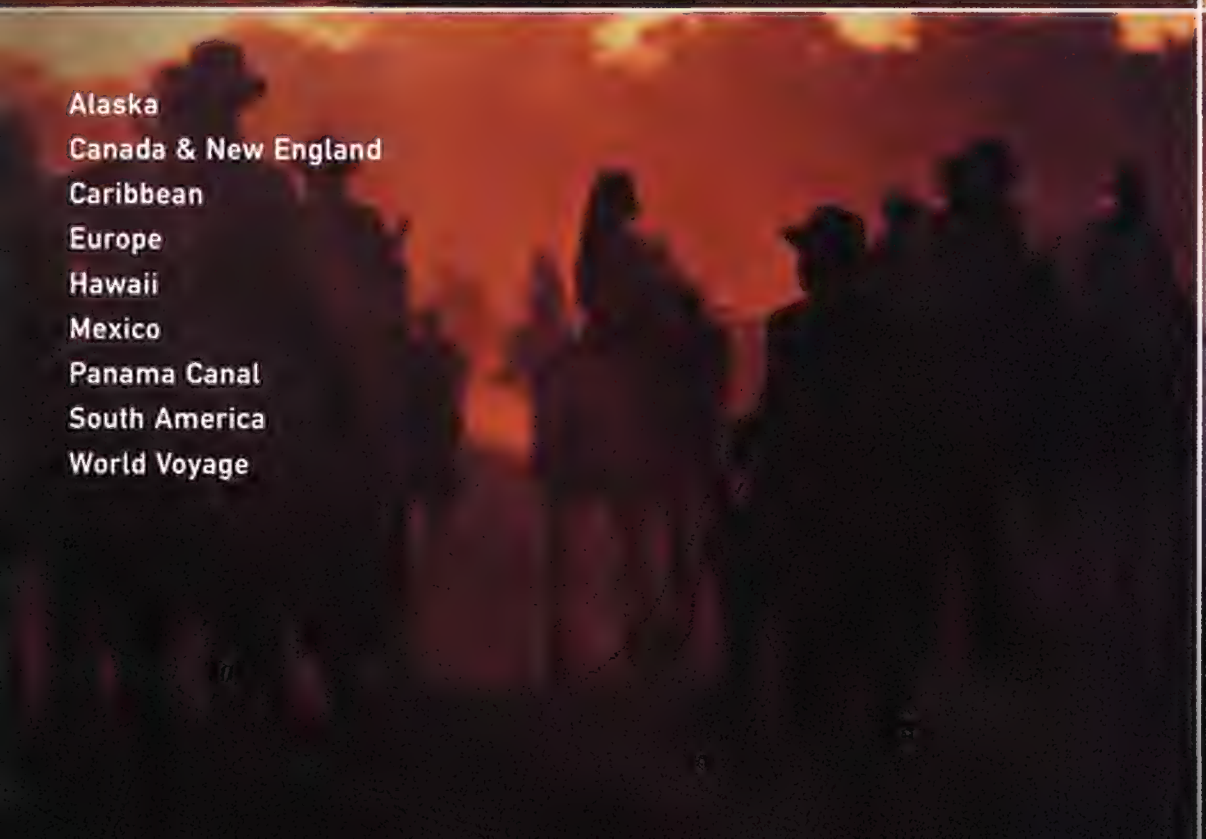

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Deliberately unrestored, a c. 1186 Buddhist temple, Ta Prohm, hints at how Angkor looked when Westerners discovered it in the 19th century.

Rescuing Angkor

An unprecedented effort to reclaim the ancient temples from the Cambodian jungle is racing against a tourist onslaught

BY RICHARD COVINGTON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL FREEMAN

Some one million tourists are expected this year at Cambodia's 155-square-mile Angkor district (map, opposite), which includes the world's largest religious monument, the 12th-century Hindu temple Angkor Wat (above). Early depictions of Angkor (opposite, a photo and illustration of the Bayon temple published in France in 1873) fueled Western notions of the ruins as a lost paradise.

IN A CLEARING of the tropical forest near the entrance to Ta Som, an 800-year-old temple at Angkor, in northwest Cambodia, two architects are having a friendly argument. For the umpteenth time, they're debating what to do about the towering strangler fig trees that threaten to rip apart sections of this Buddhist temple, five miles north of Angkor Wat, the most awe inspiring and best known of the 44 temples built between the 9th and 14th centuries in the 155-square-mile Angkor district. To Westerners accustomed to romantic images of the ancient religious ruins, the gargantuan roots entwined with the sculptures and doorways may have a picturesque quality. But the trees are a nightmare to the legions of people working to preserve and restore the 100 or so structures in and around Angkor. Roots split walls and crush intricate carvings. Mature trees topple, taking building chunks with them.

One of the architects, a rangy Englishman named John Sanday, shakes his head as he looks at two 100-foot strangler figs hugging the entrance to Ta Som in a gnarled embrace. The sinewy roots caused a half-inch crack in the carvings that span the lintel of a 30-foot-high portal. The bas-relief depicts Avalokiteshvara, the Buddhist god of compassion and mercy. "These trees are a menace," Sanday says. "They will live a couple of hundred years at most, and when branches break off, they'll bring down the gate."

"But the roots are holding the carvings and larger stones together," says Var Morin, a courtly Cambodian and a former student of Sanday's. "If we cut the trees down now, the gate will surely fall."

"What if we compromise and cut away most of the trees?" Sanday says. "Then there's less chance of a storm bringing them down."

"Let me think about it," Morin says. For now, the trees remain intact.

Both men work for the World Monuments Fund, a New York City-based conservation group that has been helping restore Angkor's temples since 1989. Morin, 45, belongs to the first generation of native Cambodians to work on this national treasure in three decades. It has taken that long for the population to begin to recover from the genocide of 1975-1978, when the Khmer Rouge, a radical communist military force that gained power in the late 1960s, killed some two million Cambodians—nearly a quarter of the population. Viet-

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RICHARD COVINGTON, based in Paris, last wrote about Mesopotamian masterpieces in the August 2003 issue. Photographer MICHAEL FREEMAN's upcoming book is about Cambodia.

REUNION DES MUSEES NATIONAUX / ART RESOURCE, NY. MAP: MIKE REAGAN. ARCHIVES CHARMET / BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

namese forces drove Khmer Rouge officials from power in 1979, but rebels loyal to the regime continued to vie for control of the country until surrendering in 1998 to Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge soldier elected prime minister the same year. Now Cambodian professionals—archaeologists, architects, restoration specialists and museum curators—are once again working to preserve Angkor, alongside experts from the United States, France, Japan, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, China and India. Currently, UNESCO and a committee drawn from 30 nations are helping the Cambodian government run the restoration project. The international community expects to assist Cambodia for at least the next ten years.

There is nothing quite like Angkor. The temples are adorned by spectacular giant carved heads and elegant bas-reliefs of buxom celestial dancers known as *apsaras*. The main attraction, Angkor Wat, is surrounded by a broad moat filled with lily pads and lotus plants. Its five pineapple-shaped sandstone towers symbolize Mount Meru, the Hindu-Buddhist home of the gods, amid the primordial ocean. Among other superlatives, Angkor Wat is the world's largest religious structure, rising 213 feet and covering 22 acres.

Angkor was a metropolis of a million or so people, the capital of the Khmer kingdom, which flourished for 500 years, peaking in the 12th century. (The word "Khmer" refers to Cambodia's historically prevailing ethnolinguistic group.) The empire covered nearly all of Southeast Asia before declining by 1600. For the next two-and-a-half centuries, the jungle all but swallowed Angkor. In 1850, the ruins were rediscovered by Father Charles-Emile Bouillevaux, a French missionary, who cut through the jungle and published an account of his two days at Angkor Wat. But the Western fascination with Angkor as a sort of lost paradise was ignited by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot, who wrote about it following his 1860 expedition: "There are . . . ruins of such grandeur . . . that, at the first view, one is filled with profound admiration, and cannot but ask what has become of this powerful race, so civilized, so enlightened, the authors of these gigantic works?" In this century, Angkor fell into disrepair under the Khmer Rouge, and for some years afterward organized thugs stole hundreds of priceless sculptures and carvings. In 1992, UNESCO designated Angkor as a World Heritage Site, one of 754 internationally protected historic and natural locations. The hundreds of security police in place since 1994 have curbed the looting.

Now Angkor is the fastest-growing tourist destination in Southeast Asia. Foreign visitors increased from nearly 50,000 in 1998 to 316,000 in 2002. (In addition, 300,000 Cambodians visited the complex in 2002.) In 2003, fears of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) reduced travel to Asian nations including Cambodia, even though there were no reported SARS cases there. For 2004, Phnom Penh predicts more than a tourism rebound—a million visitors to Angkor.

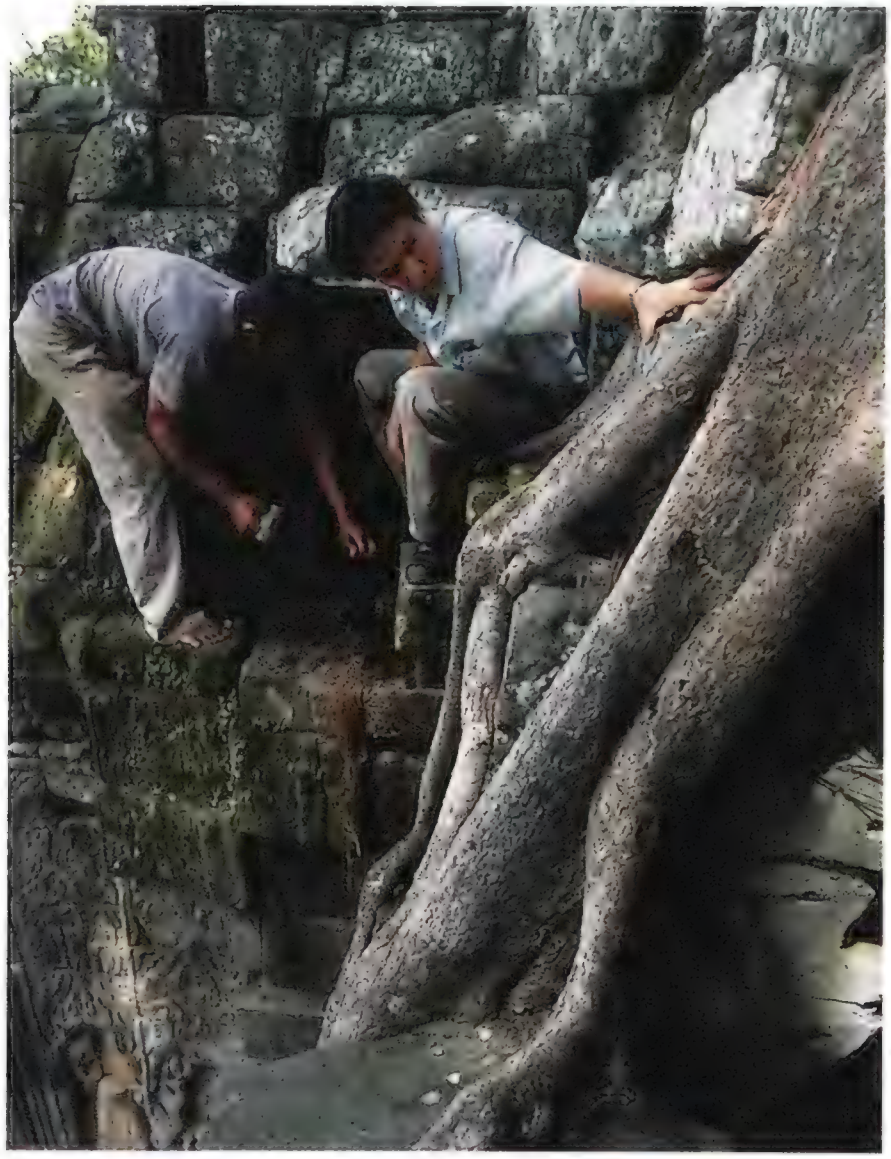
Four miles south of the temple district, Siem Reap, the laid-back garden town where most visitors stay, is struggling to cope with the influx. The resident population has mushroomed from 83,000 in 1998 to 108,000 in 2002. There are plans to install the city's first water and sewage systems. The recently redesigned airport, just three miles from the temples, now receives 20 flights a day. Developers, including corrupt military leaders who seized property in the turbulent aftermath of the country's civil war, are throwing up gaudy hotels, restaurants and karaoke bars. "Siem Reap could grow into a big town with pollution, increased traffic and, worst of all, a change in the population's attitude," says Etienne Clément, UNESCO's representative in Phnom Penh. "The friendly and open charm we see today could be badly damaged if the development of the private sector is done without any regulation."

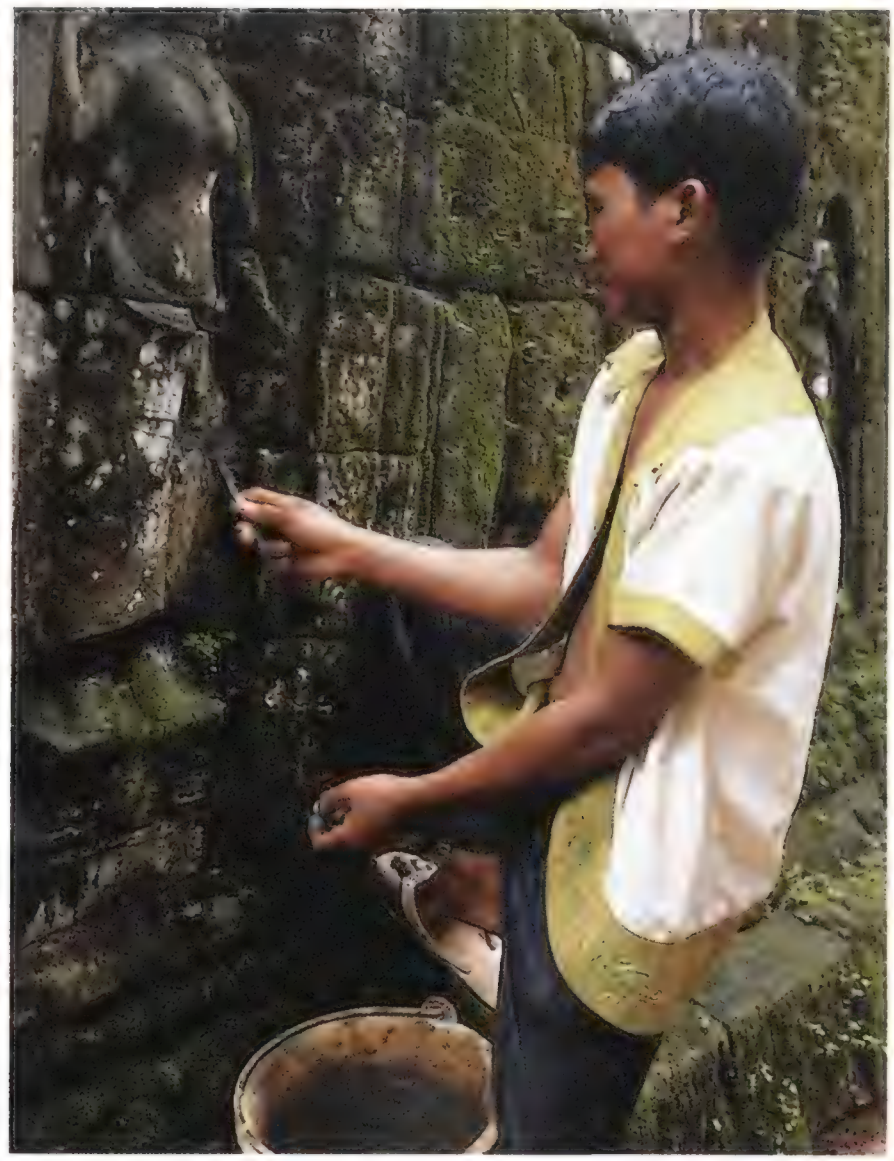
Some officials have proposed all manner of glitz to cash in on Angkor's appeal, including hot-air balloon rides, electric cars to shuttle tourists around the sites and even a zigzag escalator to take tourists to the top of one temple. So far, such proposals are on hold while officials decide how best to manage the site. "We were concerned that investors would transform Angkor into a Disneyland," says Tamara Teneishvili, the culture program specialist with the World Heritage unit of UNESCO. Still, a handful of charity productions have been permitted at Angkor Wat, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars in a country where the average family subsists on less than $300 a year. In December 2002, Spanish tenor José Carreras, a troupe of 150 Cambodian dancers and 112 orange-robed monks provided entertainment for a gala concert at the ruins to benefit four Cambodian aid organizations.

Outside the protected archaeological zone, illegal logging is denuding wide swaths of forest and silting up rice fields. "Apart from the desperate need for water and sewage sys-

Restoration of the 100 or so structures in and around Angkor is accelerating, as experts cope with the ravages of time and the jungle. Opposite, clockwise from top left: Cambodian architect Var Morin (seated) examines a strangler fig at Ta Som. A worker scrapes lichen from carvings at the 12th-century monastic sanctuary Preah Khan, where other restorers (bottom), including English architect John Sanday (in straw hat), repair a stone wall. Above: King Jayavarman VII promoted Buddhism to the Khmers in 1181.

RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX





Angkor Wat's best-known carving, unintentionally damaged a decade or more ago by restorers using a corrosive cement, is being studied by experts, supported by the World Monuments Fund, who hope to recapture its former Hindu glory. The 160-foot, 12th-century bas-relief, the "Churning of the Sea of Milk," depicts Vishnu amid a cosmic tug of war between 88 gods and 92 demons. For 1,000 years, they pull on a serpent that wraps around a mountain and roils a milky sea, creating an elixir of immortality.

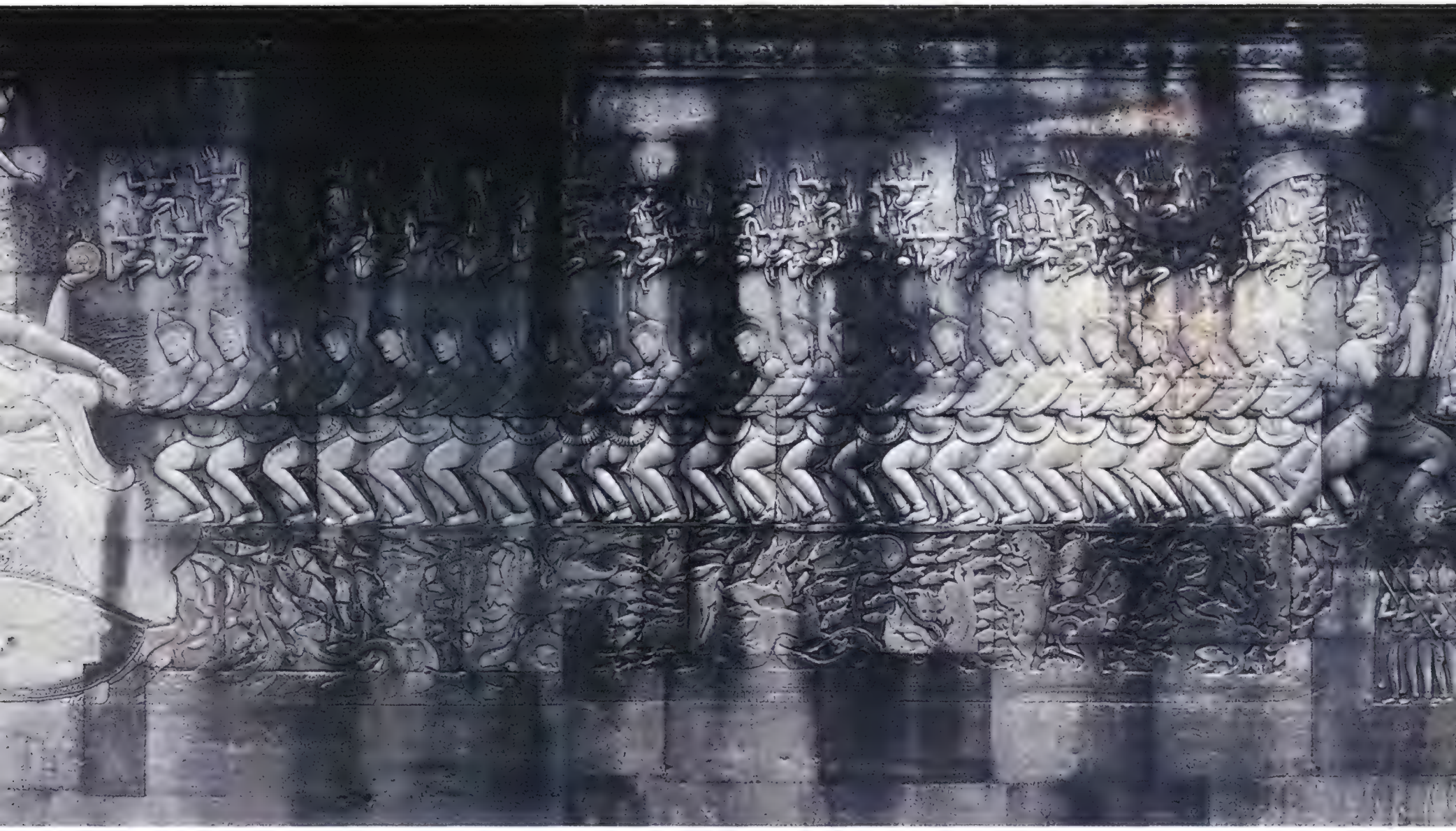
tems, illegal logging is the major environmental threat to the region," says Azedine Beschaouch, UNESCO's scientific adviser for Angkor. Though some have warned that the growing number of visitors will cause irreparable wear and tear to the principal temples, Beschaouch isn't worried about tourist traffic. "The Angkor site, which is more than twice the size of Paris, can easily handle a million visitors," he says.

Early one morning, Sanday took me to see the work under way on the "Churning of the Sea of Milk," Angkor Wat's most famous carving. The 160-foot-long bas-relief of a Hindu creation myth in which gods and demons engage in a 1,000-year cosmic tug of war was unintentionally damaged in a restoration effort by the Archaeological Survey of India between 1986 to 1992. The World Monuments Fund is completing a $200,000 study of the carving.

"Taste this," says Sanday, swiping a hand across the white powder streaked across the stone. Taking a pinch, I taste salt. "That's saline residue leaching off cement used to restore the gallery," he says. "It's gradually eating away the stone."

THE RESTORATION EXPERTS from the different nations tend to have opposing views on how best to save the temples. On the one hand, Sanday and his team prefer to repair, conserve and stabilize the collapsing structures at Ta Som, Preah Khan (another temple) and Angkor Wat with minimal intervention. They prefer not to use new materials. On the other, some Japanese architects are bolstering the 800-year-old Bayon temple with newly quarried sandstone. "We use new stones only as a last resort and blend them together with old stones by replicating the Khmer's original construction techniques," says Takeshi Nakagawa, chief architect for the Japanese government's team.

Restoration of the 11th-century Baphuon temple is another story. More than 40 years ago, French archaeologists disassembled half of the temple, a lofty, multitiered pyramid over 130 feet high that was falling down. The plan was to reconstruct it from the ground up while augmenting the original stones with concrete and other modern materials. But when the Khmer Rouge overran the region in 1972, the French conservators fled, leaving 300,000 stones scattered across 25 acres. In 1995, French archaeologists returned to face the daunting challenge of reassembling this three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle—without a blueprint, since the written records had been destroyed. Some 200 restorers have divvied up the puzzle and are trying to fit pieces together the old-fashioned way. "There's no forcing pieces to fit," says Pas-



cal Royère, Baphuon's chief architect. "Each stone has one right spot and each spot has one correct stone. If you are off by ten millimeters in one corner, everything is wrong 20 meters farther along," he says, with an expression of dismay.

It's something of a mystery how the temples at Angkor have remained upright for so long. Khmer architects stacked sandstone blocks on top of rough-hewn slabs of laterite—a rock as porous as Swiss cheese—without anchoring the pieces together. As a result, many features that a Westerner associates with grand citadels are missing. Rooms are small, ceilings low, arches uncommon. But what the Khmers lacked in building materials or architectural complexity, they made up with flamboyant piety. The more grandiose of these elaborate temples were sanctuaries for the gods. The only people allowed to enter were members of the royal family, their entourage and priests.

Today, Cambodian Buddhists—perhaps descendants of the lordly Khmers—still congregate at the temples, lighting sticks of incense in front of statues of Buddha. Chatting quietly among themselves, they seem to ignore the khaki-clad sightseers trekking through the bare rooms, spaces that centuries ago were festooned with hanging silks and jeweled ornaments.

Ancestors of the early Khmers settled in the Angkor region in Neolithic times, some 5,000 to 10,000 years ago, attracted by the abundant fishing at nearby Tonle Sap Lake, an inland waterway that extends 70 miles south to the Tonle Sap River, which merges with the Mekong River at Phnom Penh. Trade with India at the beginning of the first century A.D. introduced Hinduism and later Buddhism to the Khmers, who were animists. Under Khmer rule, Hinduism dominated until Buddhism became predominant at the end of the 12th century by King Jayavarman VII. (Although the majority of the country's Buddhist monks were murdered by the Khmer Rouge, Buddhism again became the state religion in 1989. Young novices with shaved heads are once more tending shrines.)

The Khmer region was divided into independent kingdoms until the late eighth century, when the future king Jayavarman II swept up from the south and consolidated power in the region, founding his capital near present-day Angkor. His son, Jayavarman III, built one of the first major temples at Bakong, southwest of Angkor Wat, in the mid-ninth century. By the early 12th century, the kingdom was riven by internal strife, and the king, Suryavarman II, embarked on a campaign to expand his empire, eventually subduing present-day Malaysia, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam. To honor the gods, Suryavarman II erected Angkor Wat, whose bas-reliefs of supernatural Hindu battles show off his epic victories.

"We don't know for sure whether Suryavarman II himself designed Angkor Wat, or whether he chose an architect of genius," explains Ang Choulean, director of culture and research for the Cambodian agency in charge of administering Angkor. "But judging from the harmony of the buildings, the space and sculpture, it's absolutely clear only one individual designed it."

In 1177, the powerful Cham tribe of central Vietnam rebelled against Khmer rule, stormed into Angkor and occu-

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pied the devastated city. But an exiled prince, the future Jayavarman VII, mustered a Khmer army that drove the Chams out of Angkor in 1181. Sculptors generally portrayed the Buddhist monarch as a serene figure, but Jayavarman VII was an ambitious ruler determined to leave his legacy in stone. On the ruins of the old city he established the wide-moated citadel of Angkor Thom and erected many of Angkor's major monuments, including Ta Prohm, Preah Khan and the Elephant Terrace. Bayon, his greatest achievement, contains incomparable bas-reliefs honoring his battles with the Chams.

Angkor remained the capital of the kingdom until the late 16th century, when it was eclipsed by Phnom Penh, the more accessible Mekong River port and soon a major hub of Asian trade. Over the next hundred years, the great metropolis of Angkor disintegrated into scattered villages as its crumbling temples were engulfed by the jungle. Only Angkor Wat remained in use.

Obscure records indicate that although Portuguese explorers and missionaries stumbled across Angkor in the 16th century, the ancient city was little known to the West until Bouillevaux's 1858 memoir and, especially, Mouhot's account, which was published posthumously in 1863 and caused a worldwide sensation. (Mouhot died of fever and exhaustion in 1861 in Laos.) His lyrical descriptions of Angkor Wat paid homage to its builders, speaking of an "Eastern Michelangelo creating his masterpiece." In the 1870s, French archaeologist Louis Delaporte collected 70 sculptures from Angkor, many of which are now in the Guimet Museum in Paris. (Cambodia was under French colonial rule from 1884 to 1953.) In 1923, André Malraux—later to become a renowned novelist, philosopher and France's first culture minister—was arrested by French colonial authorities for stealing four carved apsaras from the tenth-century temple Banteay Srei. When the 22-year-old author was put on trial, he was forced to return the statues and was given a year's suspended sentence.

In 1907, a French archaeological research organization took charge of conserving Angkor's mysterious temples. "Here magnificence and simplicity come together, timelessness and decay, beauty and the harsh realities of war and toil that drove the creation of this magnificent place," says Bonnie Burnham, president of the World Monuments Fund.

AT PREAH KHAN, a temple three miles north of Angkor Wat, Sanday guides me past rows of *garudas*, carvings of birds' heads on human figures, which were placed around the temple to ward off evil spirits. Sanday says that in the 12th century Preah Khan was a monastic site surrounded by schools, hundreds of shops and dwellings, with a population

At crumbling Ta Nei, a 12th-century Buddhist temple erected by the warring Jayavarman VII in remote northeast Angkor, researchers and students test new methods for controlling vegetation, rebuilding walls and deciphering the many carvings.

Is the fastest-growing tourist site in Southeast Asia in danger of becoming a theme park? Angkor overseers say no, and have squelched plans for escalators and the like. But they permitted a benefit concert (a 2002 gala with Spanish tenor José Carreras).

of 97,840 packed into the 140-acre enclave—according to inscriptions on a six-foot-high stele deciphered in 1939 inside the temple. The architect ushers me into the roofless Hall of Dancers—a space ringed by friezes of carved apsaras. There, dancing barefoot across the stone floor to the accompaniment of a tinkling xylophone, chime-like cymbals and drums is a troupe of teenage girls, splendid in their iridescent orange, scarlet and green silk saris. Their hands flit like birds and mime the story of a blessed couple flying off to heaven. Later, a quartet of young male dancers join in, and the youths bob and dip teasingly around their partners. "We like to inject a little life into the old stones whenever we have the chance," Sanday says.

The retreat at Banteay Srei, or "Citadel of the Women," represents the apogee of Khmer art. Built in the late tenth century, it is set in the midst of a village ten miles north of Angkor Thom. Its pink sandstone walls—alive with ornate carvings of flowers, vines, columns and miniature temples—contrast to the tableaux of fighting, clubbing, clawing, devouring and killing drawn from parables in Hindu epic poems.

All told, some 6,000 of Angkor's sculptures and carvings are stored in the 96-year-old Angkor Conservancy, a seven-acre compound in Siem Reap protected by guards armed with semiautomatic weapons who patrol a double-perimeter wall. (Security was beefed up after a 1993 raid in which 300 renegade looters stole 31 statues and killed a guard.) A small number of scholars and visitors, fewer than 200 a year, are allowed into the repository. A conservator named In Phally points to several hundred Hindu and Buddhist statues in a conservancy warehouse. "With all those gods, it looks like heaven down there, doesn't it?" he says.

Phally grew up on the conservancy grounds—his father was buildings superintendent until the Khmer Rouge executed him in 1976—and these days earns a mere $10 a month. Still, he intends to keep his job. "I must protect the country's heritage," he says, "I can't think about the money."

Despite the very real dangers to Angkor's treasures posed by aggressive commercial development and the swelling tide of visitors, it is hard to imagine the place losing its magic. There are still countless places in which a person can lose himself (or herself). One can encounter a statue of a forgotten 12th-century queen tucked away in a small alcove in Preah Khan or discover at Ta Prohm a hidden carving of Siddhartha on horseback setting out on his quest for enlightenment. Nature is trying its best to pull the temples down, stone by stubborn stone. But the temples are winning the battle, with lots of help from international experts. In fact, this spectacle of human wonder and blind persistence, the struggle between the stately monuments and the hungry trees, only adds to Angkor's grandeur and enduring fascination. ○

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Floridians raise a ruckus over manatees as biologists weigh prospects for the endangered species' survival

BY CRAIG PITTMAN

Fury Over a Gentle Giant

AS A CHILL WIND rippled across the Caloosahatchee River and into downtown Fort Myers, Florida, in December 2002, some 3,000 people surged through the doors of the riverfront convention center. Many waved signs. "Don't Tread On Me!" "Don't Give Up the Ship!" "Save Our Jobs!" One man, dressed in red, white and blue, bore a large white cross labeled "Property Rights." There were skinny teenagers and white-haired retirees, scruffy sailors in tattered jeans, businessmen in sharply creased khakis, a woman in black leather pants and stiletto heels. What most of them had in common was anger at a proposed federal restriction on

waterfront development that they felt would undermine their livelihoods and lifestyles for the sake of the manatee, a chubby, shy marine mammal known to old-timers as a sea cow. As one protester's T-shirt put it, "Stop the Manatee Insanity!"

For years, Florida has been beset by a bitter, frequently convoluted conflict over the gentle creature that inhabits many of its bays, canals and rivers. The dispute concerns new regulations, intended to ensure the species' survival, that further limit not only development but also boaters' access to certain waters inhabited by manatees; boat collisions are the leading cause of manatee death. Although the manatee has been designated as an endangered species since the first list was drawn up in 1967, biologists don't know how many of the animals remain in Florida waters, and both sides have seized on that uncertainty to advance their cause. Manatee advocates say the creatures are barely holding their own and may be in peril, while many boaters, anglers and developers argue that the population has recently rebounded and is not in fact endangered. The clash, the *New York Times* reported in February 2002, is "one of the fiercest fights over an endangered species" since loggers and environmentalists squared off over the spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest a decade ago.

The Fort Myers hearing, which delved into the rather arcane matter of how many manatees can be accidentally killed by human activity without threatening the population as a whole, represented something of a climax in the drama. Held next to the river that, in the past ten years, has seen more manatee deaths by boats than any other in the state, it featured, among others, state legislator Lindsay Harrington, a folksy real estate broker who once compared environmentalists to watermelons—green on the outside and red on the inside. "Many of us believe this goes too damn far!" Harrington said. The crowd cheered. A leading proponent of manatee protections, Laura Combs, Southwest Florida regional coordinator of the Save the Manatee Club, was booed when she got up to speak in favor of restriction. After the meeting, some attendees shouted at Combs that she was ruining their lives. "I was pretty flummoxed," she recalled.

The manatee might seem an unlikely cause célèbre. It has a body like a dumpling, a paddlelike tail and a squint like Mr. Magoo's. An average adult is about ten feet long and weighs 1,000 pounds. The animals tend to be solitary, except when mating or when cold weather prompts them to huddle near warm springs or power plant discharge pipes. Like seals and walruses, manatees breathe through their snouts. They surface to take a breath about every three or four minutes.

CRAIG PITTMAN, a St. Petersburg Times *reporter, has covered Florida environmental issues for five years.*

Manatees eat mostly aquatic vegetation—the sight of the corpulent beasts grazing led to their bovine nickname—and have been observed hauling themselves out of the water to nibble on lawns. Everything manatees do, they do slowly. They usually swim no faster than five miles per hour, though they can sprint nearly three times as fast. A mature female generally produces one calf every two to five years after a 12- to 13-month gestation. Curiously, scientists say they don't know how long manatees typically live in the wild. But a captive animal at the Parker Manatee Aquarium in Bradenton, Florida, celebrated its 55th birthday last year.

The Florida manatee (*Trichechus manatus latirostris*) and the Antillean manatee, which can be found throughout the Caribbean, are both subspecies of the West Indian manatee. There are two other manatee species, one in the Amazon and another along the west coast of Africa. The wide-ranging dugong of the Indian and Pacific oceans is a close relative. (With

In Florida, boaters and developers (top, at a 2002 hearing in Fort Myers) oppose manatee advocates (like Laura Combs, above, with son Colson) on boating restrictions and the animal's endangered status.

their curvaceous bodies and lithe tails, manatees and dugongs are believed to have inspired the mermaid legend.) Fossils suggest that manatees have made their home around the Sunshine State for 45 million years. The Florida manatee once ranged as far north as the Carolinas and as far west as Texas, but today it's headline news when one strays from its home waters, as when a male turned up near Rhode Island in 1995.

Every winter, tourists flock to the town of Crystal River, Florida, about two hours north of Tampa, to view hundreds of the animals seeking refuge in the spring-fed warmth of the Crystal and Homosassa rivers. Tour companies lead divers to the beasts. Representations of the creature adorn Crystal River's water tower and bus benches. The town is not alone in making money off manatees. In 2002, more than 95,000 Florida automobile owners paid $20 extra for a "Save the Manatee" license plate, with the proceeds earmarked for marine research.

Some boaters (Jim Kalvin, top, at Port of the Islands) complain of too many manatees. But biologists (such as Cathy Beck, with some of the 100,000 manatee photos in the U.S.G.S.'s archive) say there may be too few.

CAMERON DAVIDSON (2)

People once killed manatees for their succulent meat. As long ago as the late 1800s, observers were predicting the animal's imminent extinction. (Another close relative, the Steller's sea cow, of the Bering Sea, was wiped out in the late 1700s by hunters who prized its meat and skin.) In 1893, real estate mogul Frederick Morse—one of Miami's founding fathers—pushed a measure banning manatee hunting through the Florida Legislature. But the killing of the creature for food would continue for decades, largely due to lax or nonexistent enforcement. In the 31 years since the federal Endangered Species Act went into effect and made killing a listed animal a crime, Florida authorities are known to have prosecuted only one Manatee offender: in 1985, the captain of a commercial fishing boat found with a butchered manatee was ordered to pay a $750 fine and serve a six-month prison term.

Meanwhile, the fight to save manatees has shifted from hunting to boating. Boat hulls and keels crack manatee skulls and break their ribs. Propellers slice their hides, often with fatal consequences. From 1974 through 2002, state biologists tallied 4,673 manatee deaths, with 1,164 of those the result of encounters with boats.

In 1949, Joe Moore, an Everglades National Park biologist, discovered he could tell one manatee from another by studying propeller scars. A hide's scar pattern is nearly as distinctive as a fingerprint and today serves as the basis of manatee identification. A collection of 100,000 photographs of about 2,000 manatees taken over three decades reposes in Gainesville, Florida. Stored in row upon row of black binders and a computer database in a couple of cramped rooms of the U.S. Geological Survey, the Manatee Individual Photo-identification System is said to be one of the most extensive portraits of a marine mammal species. Many photographs show scars acquired over many years. One documented manatee had scars from 49 previous run-ins with boats. The 50th killed the animal.

The keeper of the mugbooks is Cathy Beck, a wildlife biologist who seems almost painfully earnest until you notice the poster on her office wall of an unscathed manatee asking, "What, me worry?" Clicking through her computer database, Beck calls up photos of notable specimens, including Popeye, a manatee sighted in Crystal River with a slash so deep on its side that its muscles are exposed; Phalanges, whose shredded tail resembles waving fingers; and Whatamess, named for the crosshatched wounds on its back. "I've seen animals that you just can't even believe are still alive," says Beck.

When a dead manatee's carcass is retrieved, it is hauled to the state's Marine Mammal Pathology Laboratory, in St. Petersburg, where biologists photograph it and send the image to the photo database for possible identification. They also conduct a necropsy to determine the cause of death. In 2002,

the staff examined a record 305 dead manatees, 95 of which had been killed in boat collisions—also a record number.

MOST OF THE EARLIEST pictures in the state's extraordinary manatee photo collection are black-and-white snapshots taken in the 1960s by James "Buddy" Powell, then a wiry teenager who loved nothing better than spending all day aboard his Boston Whaler exploring the hidden coves and quiet springs of gin-clear Crystal River.

One day in 1967, when Buddy was 13, he spotted a long-haired man sitting quietly in a Sears johnboat and staring down into the water. "He wasn't fishing," Powell recalls. "He wasn't diving. He was clearly out of place." Powell asked the mystery boater if he needed help. "No," said the man, Daniel "Woodie" Hartman, who was just beginning what would turn out to be a seminal study of the manatee, then a poorly understood species. Hartman, a Maine native, was a Cornell University graduate student. The first time he jumped into the Crystal River for a closer look at his chosen subject, he landed amid a herd of otherwise gentle males aggressively pursuing a female. He climbed back in his boat. "I agonized over how I was going to study them if I was too scared to get in the water with them," says Hartman, now retired and living near Jackman, Maine. "Finally, I got back in the water." Powell became Hartman's assistant, and using a secondhand underwater camera they started photographing manatees and studying the mammals up close. More than once, Powell says, a friendly female manatee would grasp his mask and give him a whiskery buss. A story by Hartman for *National Geographic* on "mermaids in peril" attracted the attention of French filmmaker Jacques-Yves Cousteau, whose 1972 television documentary on manatees heightened concern for the animal.

Much of the current controversy can be traced to Hartman's first statewide aerial manatee census, in the summer of 1972. Flying around in a Piper Cub, Hartman and Powell, by then a college student, added up the manatees they saw and tried to account for the ones they couldn't see because of murky water or poor weather. The pair calculated there must be some 600 to 800 manatees in Florida—a number sometimes still cited by manatee-protection advocates, despite the researchers' own misgivings. The data were "full of errors," says Powell, who earned a doctorate in zoology at the University of Cambridge in England and is now director of aquatic conservation at the Wildlife Trust, a research and conservation organization with an office in Sarasota, Florida.

Biologists conducting later aerial population surveys took pains to do them in the winter, when manatees congregating near warm water sources would presumably be easier to count. Beginning in 1991, the surveyors consistently found between 1,500 to 2,500 manatees. The researchers cautioned that the number fluctuated according to counting conditions, not because the actual manatee population varied so dramatically. Environmentalists cited the figures as a sort of final word on the manatee population and characterized even the higher numbers as evidence of a crisis—a view that found its way to Tallahassee, the state capital. "There's an endangered species that's close to being extinct in Florida waters, and I don't want to be part of that," Gov. Jeb Bush announced in 2000. "It's my favorite mammal."

Then, in January 2001, a new survey sparked another round of controversy. Led by the state Marine Research Institute, it came up with 3,276 manatees—far more than anyone had dared to believe existed. Bruce Ackerman, a research scientist who coordinates the ongoing study, says optimal survey conditions, including prolonged cold tem-

Boat collisions (top) are the leading known cause of manatee deaths, wounding so many of the mammals, which surface to breathe, that most (including Sadie, in Crystal River) are identified by scars.

TRIP DAVENDOM MINDEN PICTURES

peratures and clear skies, contributed to the higher population count. Now boaters and anglers turned the tables on manatee-protection groups, contending that the population had gone *up*, not down. Also, they argued, the documented increase in manatee deaths, rather than evidence of an alarming trend, merely reflected the greater number of animals. Boating restrictions should be relaxed, some said. Jim Kalvin, a Naples-based dock-builder and the founder of a boating advocacy group, Standing Watch, says overzealous manatee-protection measures hinder personal freedoms and represent the "flagrant abuse of the endangered species laws."

Ackerman agrees that the total manatee population has likely increased in the past 30 years, which he attributes to efforts to improve water quality and protect the animals from speeding boats. But that doesn't mean the manatee has a healthy future, he cautions, because the number dying from all causes statewide, including boat collisions, has risen so high that it is thought to equal the number of births. "You're taking away [the population's] ability to grow," Ackerman adds.

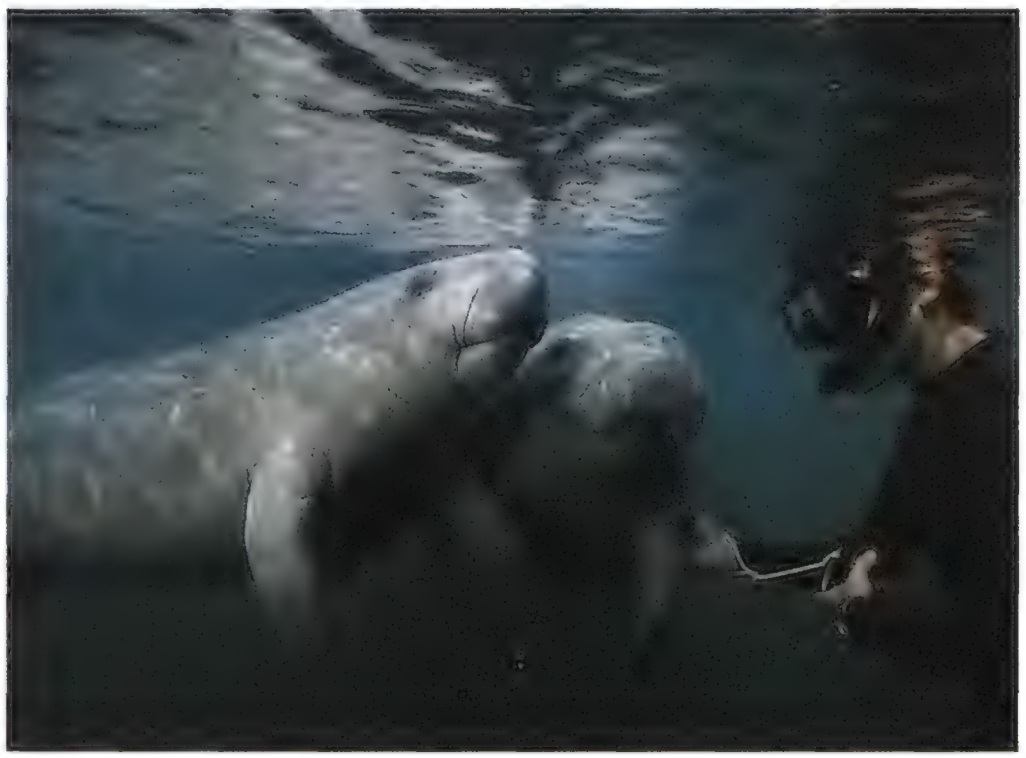
An April 2003 federal analysis of manatee population trends paints an even gloomier picture. It concluded that 3 to 13 manatees killed annually by human activity would have a negligible impact on the state's manatee population. But more deaths than that, the researchers said, could have a dire effect in the long run.

THE STATE'S most successful manatee-advocacy group grew out of an unlikely alliance between then-governor Bob Graham and tropical troubadour Jimmy Buffett. When the two met backstage at a Buffett concert in 1981, the entertainer expressed a desire to do something for the manatees he saw swimming by his sailboat. (He had even written a song, "Growing Older But Not Up," comparing himself to an old prop-scarred manatee.) Thus was born the Save the Manatee Club, which today has 40,000 members and a $1.3 million annual budget.

The door to the club's offices, in Maitland, on the outskirts of Orlando, is usually locked, because of threats the group says it has received over the years. Most of the 17 employees are women, and each has a set of watermelon-shaped earrings, in a winking nod to Representative Harrington's comment about environmentalists and the juicy fruit. Graham, who gave up a quest for the Democratic nomination for president this past October and has announced plans to relinquish his Senate seat in January 2005, is no longer directly involved with the club. But Buffett still serves as its co-chairman, along with 75-year-old activist and former state representative Helen Spivey, and raises money for the organization through the sale of T-shirts and other memorabilia promoting his music.

In 2000, the Save the Manatee Club joined in a lawsuit with other advocacy groups such as the Sierra Club, the Humane Society of the United States and the Pegasus Foundation. The suit accused Florida and U.S. agencies of failing to protect manatees under the Endangered Species Act, the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the National Environmental Policy Act. "We saw the potential of a precedent-setting campaign," says Pegasus's Cynthia Frisch. "If we can't save an animal like the manatee, then what are the chances of us saving an endangered fly or a flower? This is the leading edge of the animal welfare movement." In 2001, Florida and the federal government settled with the advocacy coalition. The state began drawing up new speed zones for Florida waterways, and the federal government agreed to crack down on new waterfront development permits and to map out new areas where boaters would be restricted or prohibited.

Then came the backlash, ignited by the 2001—higher—aerial manatee population estimate. An angler group, the Coastal Conservation Association of Florida, petitioned the state to reevaluate the manatee's status, with the aim to remove the manatee from the state's endangered species list. The move, if successful, would open the door to rolling back some state manatee protections and to removing the animal from the federal endangered species list. State wildlife officials have postponed ruling on the petition until later this year.



There are already laws to prohibit harassing the docile animals. But with waterfront development and interest in recreational boating on the rise in Florida, environmentalists say stronger protections are necessary.

Meanwhile, there were 73 documented boat-related manatee deaths in 2003—but down from the 2002 total of 95. The drop may reflect the recent recession, which put a damper on recreational boating. Or it could be that state and federal officials have stepped up enforcement of boat speed limits. Or maybe all the brouhaha has encouraged boaters to slow down. In which case, Florida's manatee madness may have saved a few sea cows. ○

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A new exhibition showcases Bearden's innovative collages and stakes a claim for him in the pantheon of 20th-century American artists

BY PAUL TRACHTMAN

ROMARE BEARDEN LIVED in many dimensions. He had a degree in education, but became a painter. He borrowed ideas from the 14th-century Florentine artist Giotto and from Byzantine mosaics, but used spray paint, sandpaper and Clorox on his canvases. He was a social worker looking after gypsies in New York City, a child of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, and an artistic leader in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. He shopped for groceries in Paris with Romanian sculptor Constantin Brancusi and took Spanish artist Joan Miró to a baseball game in New York City. He loved cats, and a friend says he lived nine lives—all at the same time.

Bearden became a master of collage, an art form as complex, fragmented and many-layered as his life. And in a body of work that is unique in American art, he made collage a medium for celebrating his African-American heritage and culture. He cut up photographs and magazines, newspapers and prints, pasting and painting the pieces and shapes into powerful portraits of contemporary black life. In the process, he gave his works a sense of myth and ritual, so that a black woman bathing became a "Susannah at the Bath," and a Harlem street scene, as allegorical as a canvas by Brueghel.

Bearden's life spanned a good part of the 20th century, from 1911 to 1988, and he won major recognition, including exhibitions at New York's Museum of Modern Art and other prominent American museums. *Art News* put him on its December 1980 cover, and President Reagan awarded him the National Medal of Arts in 1987. But four years later, *Time* art critic Robert Hughes could write that "Bearden got left out of the history books." Bearden's niece, Diedra Harris-Kel-

"What I've attempted to do is to establish a world through art in which the validity of my Negro experience could live and make its own logic," said Bearden. *Three Folk Musicians* (1967) reveals the influence of Cubism as well as his Southern roots.

Bearden (right, c. 1915, and above, with his wife, Nanette, at the 1971 Museum of Modern Art exhibition) was drawn to collage, he said, because it "forges a variety of contrary images into one unified expression."

ley, a New York City painter who made collages at Bearden's feet as a child, recalls hearing an art history teacher at Long Beach State mention his name. "I was shocked. I blurted out, 'That's my uncle!'" she says. "Before that, I hadn't seen his name anywhere. I didn't see a lot of black artists in any of the books."

Now a major retrospective, "The Art of Romare Bearden," is helping to rectify the oversight. Organized by Washington, D.C.'s National Gallery of Art (and sponsored by AT&T), the show—the most comprehensive of Bearden's work ever—opened there this past September, moves to the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in early February and heads to the Dallas Museum of Art in June. (It will go on to New York City's Whitney Museum of American Art in October and to Atlanta's High Museum of Art in January 2005.)

The National Gallery's Ruth Fine, the show's curator, calls Bearden "a central and important figure" in 20th-century American art. Although African-Americans populate his imagery, and he is often viewed as a "black artist," Fine says he should more properly be seen as part of the mainstream of modern representational painting. "This retrospective assures Bearden's place in history because he created timeless works of art that will place him among the best of American painters," says June Kelly, who runs a New York City gallery that bears her name and was Bearden's manager from 1975 until his death. "It's the scholarship that determines who we think about—which artists we should be looking at. That's been done for the Rauschenbergs, the Jasper Johns and the de Koonings, all of them. If you don't see a Bearden there, you think differently about him."

Fine initially thought she could pull the show together in three years, then asked for an extra year to extend her research. Her biggest surprise? The complexity of Bearden's techniques. "The fact that I couldn't figure out at first how so many of his collages were made drove me crazy."

But the way Bearden broke up and layered his images, improvising with new materials and new ideas, was more than a matter of technique; it came out of his life and culture—the improvisational nature of the jazz music he loved, the Christian iconography he saw in black churches, the patchwork quilts and rooms wallpapered with old newspapers and magazine pages he recalled from childhood summers in North Carolina. His work was also shaped by a lifetime of study and a deep knowledge of how artists of the past solved the eternal problems of space, color and form. As Bearden's friend the late novelist Ralph Ellison put it at a memorial service for Bearden in 1988. "I can remember visits to Romie's 125th Street studio during which he stood at his easel sketching and explaining the perspectives of the Dutch and Italian masters," he said. "Other times he played with the rhythms of Mondrian and related them to the structure of jazz."

In a 1977 interview with *New Yorker* writer Calvin Tomkins, Bearden described how, as a young man, "I'd take a sheet of paper and just make lines while I listened to records, a kind of shorthand to pick up the rhythm and the intervals." No wonder jazz musicians were drawn to him. In 1985, Wynton Marsalis asked Bearden to design an album cover. "Then when he finished it," Marsalis recalled, "I didn't like it. . . . I was just young and dumb." But Marsalis would later become a Bearden collector.

Diedra Harris-Kelley thinks that in some ways her uncle even anticipated hip-hop: "When they borrow a sample from James Brown and they stick it into a contemporary beat," she

New Mexico-based writer PAUL TRACHTMAN, *himself a painter and printmaker, writes frequently about art for* SMITHSONIAN.

Certain elements—such as the hand gestures, the emphasis on the eyes and the inclusion of a small still life—in Bearden's c. 1941 gouache *The Family* reappear throughout his work. His early paintings drew heavily on his visits to Mecklenburg, North Carolina.

says, "it's the same as Romie borrowing a piece of African sculpture and putting it in with a contemporary, realistic eye. And look at his layering of color; when you listen to the rap artists, you hear them layering, you hear the backbeat, and then you hear the James Brown [lick] or the jazz that they stick in there, and they're rapping on top of that, and somebody might be singing too. So you have this layered experience, which is what collage is."

ROMARE BEARDEN WAS BORN in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1911. His parents had both been to college, and in the face of menacing Jim Crow laws, they fled the South in 1914 for New York City. Bearden grew up in Harlem but made many family trips back to Charlotte and the surrounding rural parts of Mecklenburg County. He also spent time in Pittsburgh, where his grandmother ran a boarding house. All of these places figured in Bearden's imagery.

In Harlem, his mother became an influential social activist and political figure, his father, a city sanitation inspector. The writers, musicians and reformers who were defining what came to be known in the 1920s as the Harlem Renaissance were often in the Bearden apartment. Romare grew up rubbing elbows with jazz greats Duke Ellington and Fats Waller (both would be among the first to buy his paintings), poet Langston Hughes, and singer and actor Paul Robeson. He also knew civil rights figures such as W.E.B. Du Bois, who founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Mary McLeod Bethune, who would launch the National Council of Negro Women.

Even in relatively progressive New York City, black youngsters soon learned about the color line. Duke Ellington played at Harlem's famous Cotton Club—with its "whites only" audiences. Paul Robeson would cause a sensation in 1943 when he played Othello on Broadway, the first black man to do so in the United States since 1865. Just before he died of bone cancer at age 76, Bearden confided a memory to his longtime friend Les Payne, a reporter for *Newsday*. Bearden, Payne wrote, "recalled his grade-school days in New York City when his white teacher set him and the only other black student apart from the rest of her class. She told them math was too complicated for them, and young Bearden [who would later study mathematics in college] acquiesced by drawing in class."

In high school in Pittsburgh, where he lived with his

Bearden rarely did preliminary sketches for his collages, preferring to let each piece respond to pieces already laid down. "You put down one color," he said, "and it calls for an answer." *The Block II*, based on an actual street scene in Harlem, is from 1972.

grandmother, Bearden befriended a neighborhood boy named Eugene Bailey, who lived on the top floor of a brothel and loved making drawings of the activities he saw through cracks in the floor. His drawings depicted the brothel without a front wall—each room revealed. When Bearden's grandmother saw Eugene's sketches, she tore them up, marched him home and told him to pack his things and come live with her family. Eugene's mother agreed to the plan, and Eugene became Bearden's impromptu art teacher. Years later, one of the large paintings Bearden exhibited at New York's Museum of Modern Art, *The Block*, showed a row of tenements, à la Eugene, laying bare the lives of its occupants.

In college, at Pennsylvania's Lincoln University, he started as a math major, then transferred to Boston University, where he pitched for the baseball team and began to publish cartoons and illustrations. Later, at New York University, he studied art and education. But he always downplayed his formal art training, perhaps because his mother disapproved of painting as a career and worried that her son had his head in the stars. He got his degree in education in 1935, but was soon painting almost full time.

For the young artist, Harlem was better than Paris. "In the '30s," Bearden once recalled, "everyone would gather together and encourage each other. Countee Cullen [a leading poet of the day] would have a party for the artists every month or so and put up a few paintings to sell. You would only get $10, $15 or $25, but it kept up morale." There was an open house for artists, musicians and writers at 306 West 141st Street, and Bearden showed his early work there as part of the "306 Group."

In the 1930s, Bearden took classes at the Art Students League, a downtown hotbed of artistic and political ferment where Social Realism—as in the murals of Mexican artist Diego Rivera—was all the rage. Bearden studied there with German Expressionist George Grosz, a refugee from the Nazis. The young painter Jacob Lawrence showed Bearden his studio near the Apollo Theatre on 125th Street, and Bearden rented space in the same building. "It was eight dollars a month with electricity included," Bearden reminisced in an interview in *Art News*. He had also found a job, as a New York City social worker, which he would keep for much of his life.

Grosz, whose drawings and watercolors had satirized the rise of Nazism in Germany, proved an ideal mentor. Though Bearden had been contributing political cartoons to a popular newspaper, the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the German artist taught him to think like a painter. Bearden would later write that Grosz "made me realize the artistic possibilities of American Negro subject matter . . . [he] led me to study composition, through the analysis of Brueghel and the great Dutch masters, and . . . in the process of refining my draftsmanship, initiated me into the magic world of Ingres, Dürer, Holbein and Poussin." Bearden was so taken with 16th-century artist Pieter Brueghel that classmates nicknamed him Pete.

At the same time, Bearden was soaking up the lessons of Italian frescoes, Byzantine mosaics, African sculpture and new trends in modern art. Over a lifetime, he explored many different ways of painting, keeping elements of each as he moved through periods of Social Realism, Cubism, Abstract Expressionism and, finally, the exuberant collages he made his own. "Everything that I have done since [my first painting]," he wrote in a 1969 essay for the arts magazine *Leonardo*, "has been, in effect, an extension of my experiments with flat painting, shallow space, Byzantine stylization and African design." Bearden's hope, says Fine, "was that by absorbing the history of art and marrying that to African-American subject matter, he would be able to talk to everyone."

Referring to one of Bearden's early works, *The Family* (circa 1941), Fine points out that the hand gestures, emphasis on the eyes, focus on family photographs, interplay of abstraction and representation, and the inclusion of a little still life and patch of landscape are all elements that occur again and again in Bearden. "My sense of Bearden," she says,

"is that he never stopped using what he started with, in his subjects and his techniques. He keeps adding, so it gets more and more remarkable. He has given us some of the most interesting and complicated surfaces in modern art."

Joining the Army in 1942, Bearden was assigned to an all-black infantry division and sent to Harlem to guard New York City subways against sabotage. In 1944, the G Place Gallery in Washington, D.C. gave "Sgt. Romare Bearden" a solo show, exhibiting ten of his paintings. After Bearden's discharge in 1945, G Place gallery owner Caresse Crosby introduced him to New York City art dealer Samuel Kootz, who invited him to show his work at Kootz's newly opened gallery. (Other Kootz artists included Robert Motherwell, Alexander Calder and Pablo Picasso.) Bearden's first one-man show there was a series of works on the theme of the Passion of Christ. It was a success, and one of the paintings, *He Is Arisen*, was purchased by New York's Museum of Modern Art.

Bearden considered these paintings "abstractionist," but they were too figurative for Kootz; when he reorganized his gallery in 1948, Bearden was dropped. These were the years when America's abstract artists were rejecting all European influence and, as Bearden put it, "push[ing] Picasso out of the picture." Although Bearden delighted in this development, and produced some purely abstract works himself, he was ultimately drawn back to figuration. To hone his skills, he copied the works of such European giants as Duccio, Veronese, Manet and Matisse.

In 1950, he went to Paris on the G.I. Bill. He spent seven months there, haunting museums and galleries and meeting artists (Braque, Brancusi and Picasso were among those he mentioned later) while taking classes in philosophy. Perhaps overwhelmed, Bearden hardly painted in Paris or for several years after he came back to New York.

He turned instead to music, co-writing the hit song "Seabreeze," which was recorded by Billy Eckstine and Dizzy Gillespie; it's still considered a jazz classic. But he found life without painting stressful and depressing. In 1954, at age 42, he married Nanette Rohan, a 27-year-old dancer and fashion model. "Nanette was very particular about how she looked," her younger sister, Sheila, recently recalled. "And then she

Profile/Part II, The Thirties: Artist with Painting and Model (1981) is the only known self-portrait by Bearden. A kind of pictorial autobiography, the collage reflects his abiding interests in flat painting, shallow space, Byzantine stylization and African design.

Bearden (above left, in his Long Island City studio c. 1980) created a new, almost cinematic approach to collage, with jarring juxtapositions and unexpected cuts. A 1964 show of Photostatic prints of his collages (above right, *The Street*) was a huge hit.

met Romie and married, and became a bohemian!"

Their marriage lifted Bearden's spirits, but two years later he collapsed on the street. When he woke up, in the psychiatric ward at Bellevue hospital, a doctor told him that he "blew a fuse." He realized then, "I just had to be a painter, that was it." Nanette nursed him back to health, and they moved from uptown Harlem downtown to Canal Street, into an apartment large enough to double as a studio. There Bearden plunged into abstraction, painting on rice paper and pasting it down in layers, tearing it, adding new layers, scratching it with sandpaper and painting on top of it. His new work caught the eye of art dealer Arne Eckstrom, who began showing it. But in 1961, after Bearden and Nanette went to Paris, Florence and Venice—a sojourn among the old masters—his love of representation revived. Caught up in the burgeoning civil rights movement, he began incorporating African-American imagery into a new kind of collage.

In 1963, Sleeping Car Porters union leader A. Philip Randolph was organizing what would become the historic march on Washington (where Martin Luther King Jr. would deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech) and asked Bearden to help. Bearden invited a group of artists—including such scions of the Harlem Renaissance as Norman Lewis, Charles Alston and Hale Woodruff, along with younger artists like Richard Mayhew and Emma Amos—to his studio to discuss the idea. The gathering evolved into a black artist collective that took the name Spiral.

The group often debated the importance of race to art. "That was part of Spiral's struggle," Reginald Gammon, who joined the group as a young artist, recalled recently. "Are we black or what? We all went to art schools in the United States, and a lot of our teachers were European. We even talked ourselves into believing that Picasso was blacker than most of us! He was using black subject matter when we weren't." (Bearden had mentioned to Gammon that in Paris Picasso had told him to "Paint your people.")

By this time, Bearden had begun using photographic elements in his depictions of Harlem, Pittsburgh and rural Mecklenburg County. Though his work built on the history of collage, with a nod to Picasso and Braque's Cubist collaborations and Matisse's paper cutouts, it also represented a breakthrough. "I have incorporated techniques of the camera eye and the documentary film, to personally involve the onlooker," Bearden noted. And there was more to come.

"One day we were talking about his collages," Gammon recalls, "and Romie said 'I wish I could make them bigger.' I was working in advertising and using a Photostat machine all the time, so I took him, with some of his collages, to a Photostat house in the neighborhood, and the man there asked Romie what are these? I'll never forget it. Romie said, 'Oh these are the works of our patients. We're doctors from the mental hospital.' He did it with such a straight face I almost cracked up. And the guy said, 'Oh, yeah, I see,' and went and blew them up. And when Romie had his first black-and-white show, that's what it was."

It was actually the dealer Arne Ekstrom who spotted the 6-by-8-foot Photostats in Bearden's studio and told the artist that he should devote his next exhibition to them. Bearden complied. A critic for the *New York Herald Tribune,* struck by the works' "shock and impact," called the 1964 "Projections" exhibition "one of the best shows in town." Bearden had his first solo museum show at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. in 1965. The exhibits and sales that followed allowed him to trade social work for full-time painting in a series of studios in Long Island City, where he would create some of his most memorable images—among them the jazz figures in his *Of the Blues* series and the lush tropical landscapes of his last years. In 1971, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City featured a Bearden retrospective comprising 56 paintings going back to 1941.

Still, he couldn't quite escape the second-class status of a black artist. A 1981 review by Amei Wallach in *Newsday* compared two exhibitions then on view—"Roy Lichtenstein 1970-1980" and "Romare Bearden 1970-1980": "Lichten-

stein's slickly mounted exhibit," wrote Wallach, "inhabits the entire fourth floor of the Whitney Museum in Manhattan and has been accorded all the attention due to the work of a media darling. The Bearden show is tucked away in a series of small galleries on the fifth floor of the Brooklyn Museum, and there is no money available to reprint enough catalogues. . . . Lichtenstein," Wallach went on, "is a clever, often amusing commentator on contemporary values. . . . But Bearden is simply an extraordinary painter . . . rivaled by only a few artists painting today."

Bearden's response was just to keep on creating. "I guess to be anything of a painter you need to have the hide of an elephant," he once wrote to a fellow artist. And as his income from art increased, he and his wife were able, in 1973, to build a house and studio on the Caribbean island of St. Martin, where Nanette's family had come from. Bearden's Caribbean sojourns during the last 15 years of his life have been likened to Matisse's time in Morocco or Gauguin's in Tahiti. "The colors just zing!" says his niece Diedra Harris-Kelley.

IN NEW YORK CITY, says sculptor Nancy Grossman, who met Bearden in the 1960s and became a close friend, the artist followed an unvarying routine. "He got on the subway and he'd stop at the same place to get his tea and his cheese sandwich," she says. "The door to his studio looked like a lawyer was behind it. His studio looked like an office room with nothing in it but a tall table, with things that were on their way to being finished lined up against the wall. It looked like a place where no gardens were growing. All the gardens were inside of him." But behind the orderly facade were large appetites. "We both loved to eat," Grossman says. "I used to come to his studio and bring him a whole box of pastries, enough for a crowd of 20, and then we would just eat all of it while we talked. It was such pleasure, so many colors, so many tastes. He was like that. He wanted to eat up the pleasures of the world, eat up the wonders of the world."

"I think the artist has to be something like a whale," Bearden once said, "swimming with his mouth wide open, absorbing everything until he has what he really needs." ○

J Mood (c. 1985) was done as an album cover for jazz great Wynton Marsalis. "So long as you can get everything in a nice shape," Bearden said, "the picture will be all right. If . . . it all moves in the right rhythms, you have a painting. . . . It's like jazz, you improvise."

COURTESY WYNTON MARSALIS

Lord Nelson

A cache of recently discovered letters darkens the British naval warrior's honor and enhances that of his long-suffering wife, Frances

BY MICHAEL RYAN

Hero and...*Cad*!

"I CAN ONLY SAY that no woman can feel the least attention from a husband more than I do," Frances Nelson wrote to a friend in 1801. By then, her celebrated husband—England's greatest naval hero—was openly cohabiting with another woman, and a married one at that. Most everyone in English high society seemed to know about the affair that Horatio Nelson, Vice Admiral of the British Fleet, was carrying on with Emma, Lady Hamilton, a striking beauty—and the wife of one of his closest friends, Sir William Hamilton.

Frances Nelson had little choice but to live with her pain. Perhaps no

In the annals of British heroes, only Wellington and Churchill rival Horatio Lord Nelson (opposite, in 1801, age 43). In 1787, the naval strategic genius married Frances Nisbet (above left, at 37 in 1798). Eleven years later he began an affair with Emma, Lady Hamilton (above right, at 35 in 1800). Newly found letters challenge many historians' views of Frances as cold and whiny.

man in all of Britain was as scandal-proof as the one who had all but annihilated Napoleon's navy at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. As for the notorious Emma Hamilton, "she would have been all over what we now call the tabloids," says Nelson biographer Tom Pocock. "It was a tasty story."

More tragedy than farce, this Georgian soap opera would not end well: the admiral would leave two women's lives devastated as certainly as he devastated the French fleet; one would die wealthy but heartbroken, the other would know depression and disgrace. And the man who served Nelson as both friend and facilitator of his affairs, Alexander Davison, would spend two terms behind bars.

Many historians have accepted the view that Frances, Lady Nelson, was the cause of all this anguish. "If you read most of the Nelson biographies," says Colin White, author of *The Nelson Encyclopedia*, "Frances Nelson almost without exception was demonized for the breakdown of the marriage. She was said to be incompatible with him, cold, whining." Now that view is changing, thanks to the discovery two years ago of some 70 letters from Fanny, as she has come to be known, Emma, and Nelson to Nelson's friend, Davison.

Written between December 18, 1798, and January 20, 1806, the letters, and some other Nelson artifacts, were sold at Sotheby's in London on October 21 (Trafalgar Day), 2002, for more than $3 million to the British National Maritime Museum in Greenwich and assorted individual collectors. "This amazing archive shows us how wrong people have been," says Pocock, who calls it the most significant discovery of Nelson-related items "for more than a hundred years."

Only Wellington and Churchill rival Nelson's stature in British history. If Wellington, at Waterloo, forever thwarted Napoleon's ambition to rule Europe, it was Nelson who destroyed the French emperor's sea power and ended his plan to conquer England. Few military figures of the modern age—perhaps George Patton is one—have been simultaneously as reckless and brilliant. When Napoleon attempted to conquer North Africa, with the ultimate intent of extending his empire all the way to India, Nelson pulled off one of the most celebrated victories in naval history (one in which the fictional Capt. Jack Aubrey, played by Russell Crowe in *Master and Commander*, participated).

The Battle of the Nile began when Nelson's scouts discovered the French fleet—commanded by Napoleon's chief admiral, François-Paul Brueys d'Aigailliers—anchored at Aboukir, near Alexandria, Egypt, in 1798. Nelson slipped his warships between the enemy and shore, safe from Napoleon's cannons, which faced the open sea. "In the rapidly falling darkness, confusion seized their fleet," Churchill wrote in his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*. "Relentlessly the English ships. . . . battered the enemy van,

passing from one disabled foe to the next down the line. At ten o'clock, Brueys' flagship, the *Orient*, blew up. The five ships ahead of her had already surrendered; the rest, their cables cut by shot, or frantically attempting to avoid the inferno of the burning *Orient*, drifted helplessly." Later, Nelson would gloat to his crew: "It must strike forcibly every British Seaman, how superior their conduct is, when in discipline and good order, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen."

While the Battle of the Nile made Nelson a national hero, it was on an October morning seven years later that he became a near divinity in English lore. That day in 1805, Nel-

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Nelson's most celebrated, and last, battle was at Cape Trafalgar. Early in 1805 Napoleon controlled continental Europe; only Britain remained unvanquished, and the French and Spanish fleets prepared to invade. But in October, Nelson caught both navies off guard. His brilliant tactics led to a quick victory. In about four hours he took some 1,700 casualties while inflicting about 6,000.

son attacked the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar, between Gibraltar and Cádiz, Spain; in a totally unorthodox maneuver, he split his ships into two parallel lines and sailed them straight at the enemy, cutting it in half. By late afternoon, Napoleon's navy had been vanquished, though Nelson, struck by a musket ball, would himself expire just hours after the battle began. Every English schoolchild since has learned the story of Nelson's collapse on his vessel's bloodstained quarterdeck and his dying request to Lt. Thomas Hardy: "Take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy; take care of poor Lady Hamilton."

THE TWO WOMEN in Nelson's life could hardly have been more different. Frances came from a wealthy family living on the Caribbean island of Nevis, where it owned sugar plantations. Her handwriting in the letters reflects her upbringing:

steady, straight, legible and neat. In 1785, when Fanny's father introduced her to 26-year-old Nelson, she was a 24-year-old widow with a 5-year-old son. (Her husband had died, probably from a tropical disease, in 1781.)

Emma Lyon, on the other hand, was a woman of volatile temperament; her handwriting wanders in crooked lines, her letters large and often all but unreadable. Born in Cheshire in 1765, she became a maid in London at about age 12; before long, she had become the mistress of Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh and bore him a daughter. When he jilted her, she took up with his friend, Charles Greville, who introduced her to the painters Sir Joshua Reynolds and George Romney, both of whom did portraits of her. (One of Romney's hangs in the Frick Collection in New York.) Unlike Fanny, who is remote and expressionless in her portraits, Emma appears both fetching and flirtatious. In one of Romney's renderings, she has a beguiling smile, upswept hair and a rose dress with a swooping low bodice. In 1782, Greville's aging uncle, Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador to the court of Naples, was widowed. In exchange for Hamilton's help paying his debts, Greville sent Emma to Naples to become Hamilton's mistress. She eventually married him, acquiring in the bargain a title, a mansion and a considerable fortune.

FANNY'S, EMMA'S AND NELSON'S letters might never have come to light had descendants of Nelson's confidant not decided to sell a diamond brooch that had been in the family for almost two centuries. "The brooch is the key to everything," says Martyn Downer, head of jewelry at Sotheby's London office at the time of the sale and author of *Nelson's Purse*, a forthcoming book about Nelson's friendship with Davison (Smithsonian Books). "It was brought to one of our offices outside England." It is quite likely, though no one can prove it, that Nelson gave the brooch, shaped like an anchor and adorned with the initials "H" and "N" (for Horatio Nelson), to Emma and that she in turn sold it to Davison when she was strapped for cash.

Downer says the Davison heirs, who wish to remain anonymous, told him they inherited the brooch "from their ancestor, Alexander Davison. I kept asking them about Davison, and they finally said, 'Why don't you come to our house? We've got a few papers.'" When Downer walked into the house and saw two 18th-century deed boxes, one bearing the name Davison, "it was," he says with British understatement, "a wonderful moment."

The artifacts include swords, pistols and a blood-soaked purse, which Nelson is believed to have carried when he was killed by a French sniper at Trafalgar, as well as elaborate porcelain pieces, decorated with Nelson's coats of arms (he changed them as he rose in rank) and depictions of his ships. Some were purchased by Nelson for Emma, others bestowed on him by Davison and other admirers. There are gold medals and coins—some struck by Davison, apparently to curry favor with Nelson and his men. And there is a sword, known as Nelson's Scimitar, probably given to Nelson by the ruler of Constantinople.

But the letters from Fanny are the real treasures. "You know we have had so little communication, for some Months that My Lord, has most likely never received my letter," she writes plaintively to Davison in 1799. "I have not had a line from him for Ages," she writes later that year. "I am sure he writes, who can be so wicked as to take my letters. . . ." Although Davison's replies have all been lost, it would appear from Fanny's missives that he did his best to let her down gently, bucking up her spirits without sharing information he was getting from Emma Hamilton in her correspondence with him.

Davison "was a very complicated and intriguing man," says Downer. "When he was 23 he went to Quebec with his broth-

Nelson's confidant Alexander Davison (top, in 1808, age 58) received letters from Frances, Emma and Nelson himself. They were discovered when Davison's descendants sold a brooch (above), probably given to Emma by Nelson, then bought by Davison.

er George and established a business; he made a fortune through the fur trade, the shipping trade, and victualing the British Army in North America. And there's some suggestion, not proved, that he was involved in the slave trade."

Nelson, 24 in 1782, was skipper of the HMS *Albemarle*, quartered in Quebec City in what the British called the War of American Independence, when he struck up a friendship with Davison. The bond was cemented after Davison talked Nelson out of marrying 22-year-old Mary Simpson, an innkeeper's daughter. Davison convinced the relatively impoverished Nelson to hold out for a rich wife. Nelson had grown up the son of a country parson, the 6th of 11 children, in a little village in Norfolk called Burnham.

Nelson was commanding the frigate *Boreas*, interdicting trade between the British Caribbean colonies and the United States, when he met Frances Nisbet. "She was accustomed to the grand life, which of course he wasn't," says biographer Pocock. They married in 1787. He was 29; she 26. (Her son, Josiah, then 7, would himself become a Royal Navy captain. She and Nelson would not have children together.) From 1787 to 1793, when Britain was at peace and Nelson and other officers were forced to cool their heels at half pay, he and Fanny lived together in Norfolk, England. But when war with revolutionary France broke out in 1793, the navy called him back to active duty, and he took command of the *Agamemnon*.

In 1794, Nelson lost most of the sight from his right eye in action during an engagement near Corsica. In 1797, he played a significant role in defeating the French fleet at Cape Saint Vincent, for which he was knighted. The same year, Nelson lost his right arm in an attack on Santa Cruz in Tenerife and returned to England, where Fanny nursed him back to health. A year later, he was sufficiently recovered to defeat Napoleon's fleet at the historic Battle of the Nile.

In that engagement, a wound to the head forced him to recuperate in Naples, where he would visit Sir William Hamilton and his wife, Emma, Lady Hamilton. In late 1798, he began his affair with Emma, under the nose of her doddering husband, who apparently chose to overlook the matter. In time, Emma would take a dim view of Nelson's wife. "What a sad thing it is to think such a man as him should be entrapped with such an infamous woman as that apothecary's widow," she wrote to Davison in a letter dated July 15, 1804.

By this time, Davison, 54, had begun to play a pivotal role in Nelson's economic and private affairs. The vice admiral hired him to handle his claims and those of his subordinates before navy tribunals that parceled out spoils from the Battle of the Nile. (In the British Navy of the time, seamen split the proceeds of the sale of enemy ships and cargoes they captured; official panels determined how much each man, from the highest admiral to the lowliest seaman, would get.)

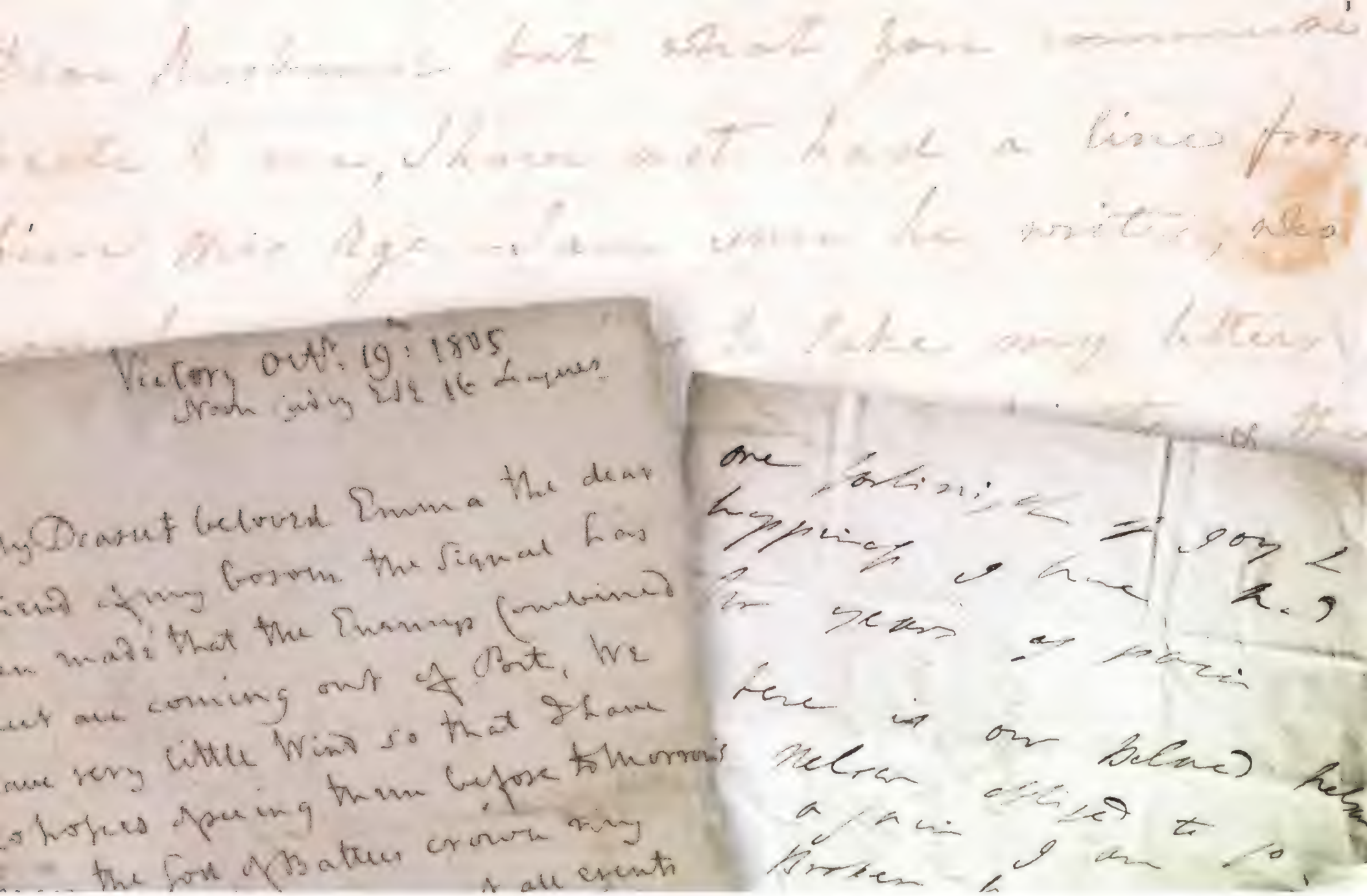
Davison also helped Nelson juggle the demands of the two women in his life. "From December 1798 to late 1800, Frances writes to her trusted 'friend' a series which it is now impossible to read without a sense of dramatic irony," Downer notes in the Sotheby's catalog of the Davison family collection. In the early letters, about the time Nelson and Emma were beginning their affair, Frances expresses joy that her husband will soon be with her. "All the Boys letters from the Vanguard confirm my dear Lord's intension of coming home," she writes to Davison in the fall of 1798. She adds: "All hands expect my Husband home very soon."

But by the spring of 1799 Nelson has still not returned from Italy, and Fanny complains about nervous illnesses, telling Davison that she "had upwards of eight oz. of blood taken" and adding, "I have had spasms, which has again shook me very much." Still, she seems unaware of any romance between her husband and Emma, and offers to come to Naples to help nurse Nelson back to health. He rebuffs her. "I fixed as I thought a proper allowance to enable you to remain quiet, and not be posting from one end of the Kingdom to the other," he writes in early 1801.

"It's quite clear that she doesn't understand what's happening," says *Nelson Encyclopedia* author White. "She's bewildered and upset and hurt, and she's blaming herself in classic abandoned wife fashion." Even so, she remains generous toward her husband. "There's one very poignant letter where she tells Davison that she actually destroyed some letters that Nelson had sent her; she didn't want to affect his repu-

The alluring Emma (c. 1786, in a painting by George Romney) was popular with portraitists like Romney and Joshua Reynolds.

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON



Victory Oct. 19: 1805
Noon in Lat 36 Longs

My Dearest beloved Emma the dear friend of my bosom the Signal has been made that the Enemys Combined fleet are coming out of Port, We have very little Wind so that I have no hopes of seeing them before tomorrow or the Day following when the Battle will commence

one Victory = I am happy & thank God for it

here is our Beloved Nelson

Nelson's letters (left) and Emma's (right) tell of their mutual passion. An anguished Frances (top) cannot understand why she has not heard from her husband. "I am sure he writes [to me]," she tells Davison. "Who can be so wicked as to take my letters[?]"

tation for posterity. That's not the act of a bitter and estranged woman; that's an act of love."

Apparently unaware of her husband's betrayal, Fanny even entered into a correspondence with Emma. "Lady Hamilton's second letter, I have received it," Fanny writes to Davison in March 1799. "It mentions my Husband's recovery . . . indeed he required A great deal of good Nursing and Asses Milk. Sir W. and Lady Hamilton's kindness, attention and real friendship, has been great indeed just such as yours."

But by November 1800, Fanny, in a letter to Davison, appears to realize that Lady Hamilton has become more to her husband than a solicitous friend: "[British Admiral] Lord Hood always expresst his fears that Sir W. & Lady Hamilton would use their influence, to keep Lord Nelson with them: they have succeeded." Finally, that same month, Nelson returned to England. Almost everyone knew that he and Emma were having an affair, and polite society was scandalized. Nelson did spend a few days with Fanny but was soon spending most of his time with the Hamiltons, also returned to London, at their Piccadilly town house, or at Davison's mansion on St. James' Square.

Emma and Fanny would meet on at least two occasions that winter, at a dinner and at the theater. At the second meeting, Lady Nelson helped an ill Emma out of the theater. "The horrible truth that Emma was in the final stages of pregnancy with Nelson's child probably dawned on Fanny on that occasion," says Pieter van der Merwe of the National Maritime Museum. Emma gave birth to Nelson's daughter, Horatia, in either the last days of January 1801 or the first days of February. In mid-January 1801, Nelson returned to his ship *San Josef,* which had been ordered to the Baltic. In February, Fanny wrote to Davison: "My Mind has not recovered its natural calmness, nor do I think it ever will. I am now distrustful and fearful of my own shadow." But in March 1801, Fanny put on a brave front, hoping that next time Nelson came home he would live with her. She wrote to Davison that "I will receive him with joy."

On April 2, 1801, while attacking the Danes at Copenhagen to try to break up an alliance between Napoleon and the Scandinavian countries, Nelson resorted to another unorthodox action. After the British and Danish fleets had exchanged heavy fire for three hours, the commander of the British ships, Adm. Sir Hyde Parker, raised signal flag number 39, an order to "discontinue the engagement." Nelson reminded his officers that he had only one good eye and then said, "I have a right to be blind sometimes. I really do not see

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY, SOTHEBY'S

the signal." He continued the attack and defeated the Danes. Sir Hyde Parker went home in disgrace.

After his return to England in June 1801, Nelson chose not to see Fanny. By December 1801, his attitude toward her had deteriorated to something approaching caddish incivility. Nelson sent a letter from his wife to Davison, who returned it to Fanny with the terse note: "Opened by mistake by Lord Nelson but not read."

In August 1805, two months before the Battle of Trafalgar, Nelson spent a few weeks with Emma at Merton, an estate southeast of London that he had bought with the help of a loan from Davison. (Sir William had died in April 1803.) Referring to the Merton idyll, Emma wrote to Davison of "one fortnight of joy and happiness I have had for years of pain. My Beloved Nelson is so delighted with Merton & now he is here—tis a paradize."

After Nelson's death in October, Emma began a slow, painful slide into penury. Her husband had left her 800 pounds a year in his will—not enough to maintain Merton and pay for its elaborate grounds. (For his part, Nelson left her Merton and 500 pounds a year.) Nelson also had asked the government to provide for Emma; the story goes that the Prince of Wales was inclined to grant the request until he stumbled across some papers in which Nelson had ridiculed him. Emma never received a penny from the Crown.

Spendthrift Emma soon had to borrow money from Davison. Apparently she also sold him many of the artifacts that would end up in his possession. Her letters reflect her decline: "The loss of Nelson under this Dreadful weight of Most wretched Misery that I suffer I fell & Hope that I shall be not Long after Him—nothing gives me a gleam of Comfort but the Hope that I shall soon follow," she wrote in November 1805 to Davison. Eight years later she was sentenced to debtor's prison at King's Bench, in London; upon her release a year later in 1814, she fled to Calais with 13-year-old Horatia, putting herself beyond the reach of English law. She died the following year, probably at age 49; her exact birthdate is not known. Today, a monument to her, built in 1994 with the help of an American donor, stands in the Parc Richelieu in Calais. Horatia Nelson married a country curate and lived a quiet life until her death in 1881.

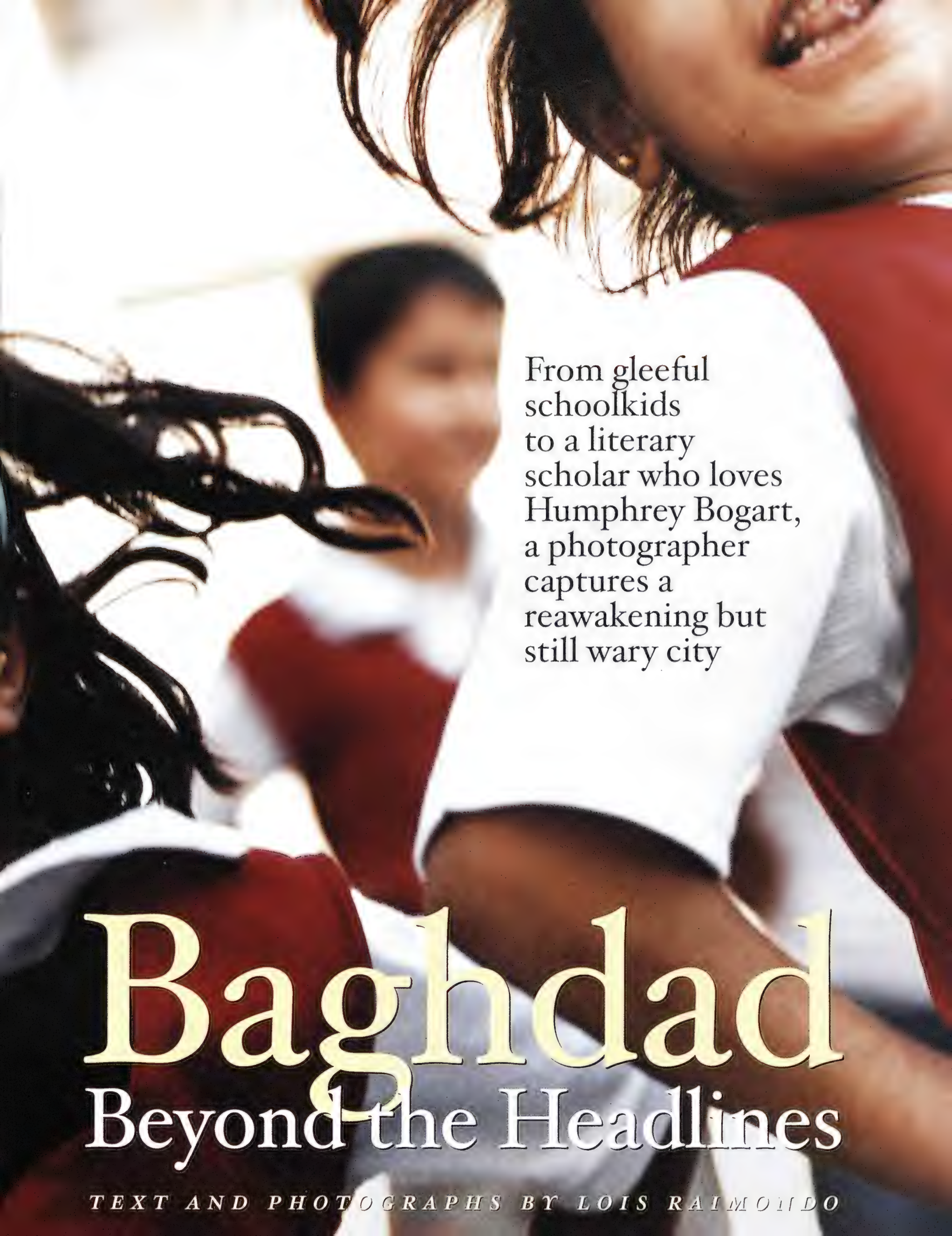
Sir Laurence Olivier (Nelson) and Vivien Leigh (Emma) starred in *That Hamilton Woman* (1941). Dying (in a painting by Arthur Devis), Nelson begged a comrade to "Take care of my dear Lady Hamilton." He now stands tall in London's Trafalgar Square.

Over the years Davison benefited from his relationship with Nelson and amassed a good fortune. In addition to the mansion on Saint James' Square, he had bought an estate in Northumberland called Swarland. But his ambition got the best of him. In 1802, he tried to bribe voters in an attempt to win a seat in Parliament. In 1804, at the age of 54, he was sentenced to a year in prison for the crime. And in 1808, he was convicted of fraud, in connection with his role as a purveyor of supplies to the British Army, and served another term. Although he lived until 1829, he never recovered his social standing after his release from prison in 1809.

Fanny's loyalty and patience paid off. Faithful to her husband's memory to the end, she received a generous pension from the Crown and was accepted in polite society until her last days. She died at age 70 in 1831, having never remarried. "This was a woman who was continuously and desperately in love with her husband," says Colin White.

For all his indiscretions and downright cruelties, Nelson's place in history remains secure. His tactics are still taught in naval war colleges, and the moment of his death has been immortalized by English painters for generations. By one estimate, more than 2,000 books have been written about his life and half a dozen films have captured his exploits. Nelson's Column holds pride of place in London's huge Trafalgar Square. His flagship *Victory* is on display at the Portsmouth Naval Base, no less revered than *Old Ironsides* in Boston.

What made the hero such a scoundrel? "Fanny was devoted to her husband and extremely solicitous of his health and welfare, but ultimately not in the way he craved," says Pieter van der Merwe. "My theory is that Nelson remained in many respects a small boy from a large family who lost his mother very young and spent his life searching for a source of uncritical love. He was almost entirely disappointed in finding it in Fanny, but found it writ larger than life in Emma." ○



From gleeful schoolkids to a literary scholar who loves Humphrey Bogart, a photographer captures a reawakening but still wary city

Baghdad
Beyond the Headlines

TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOIS RAIMONDO

Previous pages: At the Noral Shan Mixed Primary School, first graders (Ula Majid, center) play a local version of Simon Says. The school, in a neighborhood of neat single-family homes, was one of the first to reopen after the U.S.-led invasion. Headmistress Najah Kamel, terrified of terrorist bombs and kidnappings, said she had hired five armed men to stand guard. Above: A bride-to-be and her entourage in a downtown beauty salon on a Thursday afternoon giddily prepare for her wedding. Thursdays (and Mondays) are popular for weddings, and on those nights in some neighborhoods the streets are thronged with partygoers, and guns fired into the air herald another knot tied. The number of marriage licenses in Baghdad is reportedly double that of the previous year, because of the collapse of the Baath Party, which had largely controlled who married whom. Right: Women entering the Kadhimiya mosque, one of the largest in Baghdad, are discreetly searched following the terrorist bombing earlier that day of a mosque in Najaf, 120 miles to the south of Baghdad.

I HAD LITTLE IDEA what to expect. My impressions had come mainly from daily news reports of the fighting and casualties and the coalition government's struggles to gain a footing on unstable ground. Journalists who had spent time in the city warned me not to let my guard down and to be off the streets by dark.

A few hours after arriving in Baghdad, having flown from Paris to Amman, Jordan, and convoyed across the desert, I found myself at a run-down estate in a Baghdad suburb. Crumbling stucco, peeled paint and overgrown date palms spoke of years of neglect. The sun had set, marinated carp was roasting on the fire, and whiskey and Iraqi beer were flowing. Our ebullient host, Sala, an Iraqi businessman newly returned after 15 years in London, urged us to eat and drink. We talked above the crack of distant rifle and machine-gun fire. But when mortars began to boom, guests began to leave. They didn't know who was firing, terrorists or resistance fighters, but they knew they didn't want to be around if U.S.-led coalition forces retaliated. "Please stay," Sala said, laughing and crying at the same time. "It's a *party*."

His strong mixed emotions made a fitting introduction to Baghdad. I'd gone there to see how people were getting by in their daily lives. Do they have enough to eat? What are they doing for work? What are their dreams for the future? Before U.S. Forces captured Saddam Hussein in mid-December, I crisscrossed this ancient proud city of some five million by the Tigris River: the downtown Karada fashion district, with its busy beauty salons and bridal shops; an outlying commercial district, with its revived printing presses; the impoverished, increasingly restless eastern district called Sadr City, home to many long-oppressed Shiites.

In a neighborhood of stucco houses, the headmistress of the Noral Shan primary school told me, with apparent sincerity, that she was angry about the destruction of Saddam's regime and was grieving for him. She described him as a father figure to her as well as her nearly 1,000 students. I asked her about the horrors that Saddam had wrought on his people, such as the murders then coming to light with the discovery of mass graves. "I do not believe it," she said, adding: "And if he did kill those people, they deserved it."

It was not the first time I would hear an Iraqi first deny that Saddam committed atrocities, then dismiss them. I attributed that seemingly contradictory response to the respect, paranoia and fear that Saddam's rule had inculcat-

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LOIS RAIMONDO is a staff photographer for the Washington Post.

Most of the men attending the wedding banquet at the bridegroom's home—held in his driveway—left shortly after they finished eating. Then the women and children ate, indoors, and the groom and weeping bride toasted their union with orange soda. A handful of men in the wedding party danced in the street to musicians playing drums, trumpets and cymbals. But a rifle fired into the air by a disgruntled neighbor was followed a few hours later by mortar fire, which scattered the celebrants.

Al-Mutanabbi Street, in the city's old quarter, was described by one denizen as "the most hated street in the regime" under Saddam Hussein, because of the potentially subversive information being exchanged there. Opposite: Vendors hawking books and magazines say they now openly offer once-banned literature, including religious texts and posters and political tracts. Above: At the street-corner Al-Shah Bender café, long a refuge for artists, intellectuals and dissidents, Riadh Kadhum Ziarach, middle, a sheik from the Shiite-dominated Sadr City district, met with Amir Nayef Al-Sayegh, right, asking him to translate into English an appeal to the U.S.-led coalition government. "The matter will not wait," the sheik said of his written demand that local leaders replace coalition-appointed officials. Al-Sayegh, whose own application to work for the coalition had been turned down, suggested with a sigh that the sheik was perhaps naive. Below: The growing need for information has boosted the number of local newspapers from 5 under the regime to 16. Behind many of the new outlets are religious and political factions vying to influence opinion and events.

Above: Youths entering the Kadhimiya mosque were searched not by coalition authorities or other officials but by community members—a sign, locals said, of self-sufficiency. Opposite, above: Roasted carp and other delicacies sold from sidewalk carts at twilight suggested that street life was beginning to return to normal. Opposite, below: A pair of boots were among the ambiguous effects confronting Dr. Faik Amin Baker, director of a medical examiner's office. Under Saddam, he said, he was frequently ordered to falsify death certificates but managed to avoid doing so. "I can tell you about it finally," he said. "It was a daily struggle." He said his staff was now examining 34 corpses dug up at one of Saddam's palaces and delivered to the morgue by U.S. troops. "We don't know for sure how they died," he added. "Maybe before the Americans arrived. Or perhaps they were killed in the fighting and then buried." Items removed from the bodies—shoes, bloodstained shirts—were photographed and set aside, possibly to be identified by people seeking missing loved ones.

ed. "People love Saddam because they are afraid of him," my driver, a 42-year-old man named Ali, explained to me. "This is a very strong kind of love. We are always afraid to say our feelings."

I visited a married couple in their 40s, both unemployed meteorologists. She said she worried constantly about their two young children, a 10-year-old girl and an 8-year-old boy, because of the random street bombings and the shootings that had occurred around the city. As we spoke, the boy played a soccer video game on the computer in the living room. An earth-toned tapestry bought in Spain hung over the settee, marking the family as once financially well off, at least compared with many Iraqis. The father said he had been a Baathist and a general in Saddam's air force. He'd been hiding in the house since the start of the war, initially because he'd been ordered to do so and now because he didn't know what else to do. "Everything outside is chaotic and dangerous," he said. "For now, I think it best to stay at home and wait."

As I left he said, "This was not so difficult. You are the first American we have ever met."

Most everywhere I went I was treated hospitably, even by critics of the U.S.-led occupation, including a religious political activist who said his group had

Above: The presence of U.S. troops on Baghdad streets since the city fell in April (in the marketplace adjacent to the Kadhimiya mosque) provoked a mixture of reactions among residents—anger, suspicion, relief, confusion, joy, defiance and studied indifference. The need for security was undeniable, with pistol-packing bandits on the streets. Some women carried guns in their purses. Opposite: "Before the war, school started every day with a song, 'We Love Saddam,'" recalled Kamel, the headmistress. "Now we have stopped the morning ritual, to teach the children how to begin to forget."

declared war on journalists. One afternoon as I stood on a busy street in front of a furniture store, its owner, Qais M.A. Al-Baghdady, came out and invited me in. Offering coffee, tea or Pepsi, he explained how, three months before the war even began, he had converted his manufacturing business from home to office furniture. Al-Baghdady, a former official in the regime's building ministry, said he had anticipated that the aerial bombing would be followed by looting and that all the destruction would create a great need for desks and the like. Business is very good, he said. I asked how that could be when so many Iraqis were out of work. "Oh, no," he said. "The people are not buying. The *Americans* are. Government offices, ministries, accommodations, all the schools. For one or two years we expect this. We have had patience for 35 years, we cannot be patient for three more?"

The scent of sweet almond tea hung in the air of the Al-Shah Bender café, for decades a focus of the city's intellectual life and during the Saddam regime a sanctuary for book lovers and writers. Amir Nayef Al-Sayegh, a 52-year-old literature scholar and translator, sat at a worn wooden table piled with handwritten documents. These days, he mostly translated statements and pleas by Iraqis trying to communicate with the coalition government.

He had a buoyant spirit and yet a marked sadness. He said he enlisted in the Iraqi Army some 30 years ago and was forced to remain in the service after his officers found out he also spoke English, Arabic and French. He deserted just weeks before the American bombs fell. He was imprisoned 17 times, he said, for offenses ranging from selling banned books to not informing government authorities that his wife and two children had fled to Jordan. Still, he managed to earn a college degree in English literature. He's a self-described romantic, quoting Humphrey Bogart and *Madame Bovary* with similar ease, and has been an avid consumer of American culture, especially cowboy movies and Danielle Steel novels. He said for years he'd hoped that America would one day liberate Iraq, but he was deeply disappointed when coalition authorities rejected his application to work as an interpreter. "What America has done—getting rid of Saddam—is something wonderful," Al-Sayegh said. "But now, I don't know. The soldiers in the streets, they are not like the people in the books."

In my two weeks in Baghdad, this great metropolis in the throes of a historic transition, I was struck by one thing in particular: how people were speaking up, passionately, about most everything, after decades of suppression and silence. "From now on, there will be a very big difference," Al-Baghdady, the furniture maker, said. "At the very least I can talk." ○

THE

MAD POTTER OF BILOXI

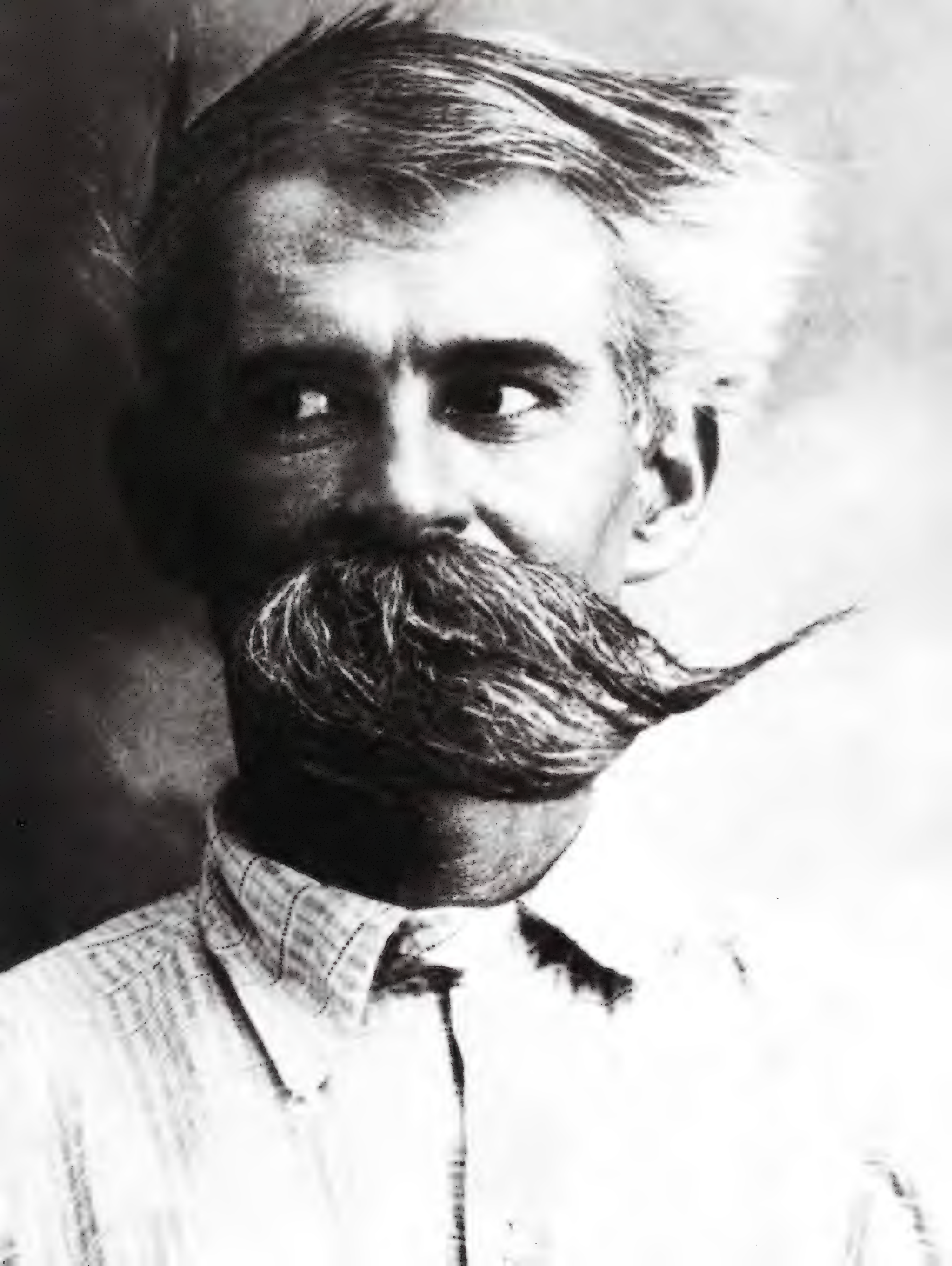
Self-styled eccentric George E. Ohr's wild, weird, wonderful pots gathered dust in a garage for half a century. Now architect Frank Gehry is designing a museum dedicated to the artist who made them – BY BRUCE WATSON

RIDING THE TRAIN SOUTH through the deep pine woods of Mississippi in the early 1880s, tourists to the Gulf Coast came to Biloxi for sunshine and surf. Along with its beaches, the little town had its own opera house, white streets paved with crushed oyster shells, and fine seafood. Yet back in those years, there were no casinos as there are now, and not a lot to do besides swim, stroll and eat shrimp. Then, in the 1890s, the town boasted a new tourist attraction, one based on genius or madness, depending on one's point of view.

Just a few blocks from shore, a five-story wooden "pagoda" labeled "BILOXI ART POTTERY" towered above the train tracks that ran across Delauney Street. Approaching it, a visitor saw hand-lettered signs. One read: "Get a Biloxi Souvenir, Before the Potter Dies,

"I am the apostle of individuality," declared Mississippi potter George Ohr (opposite, c. 1900).

GARTH CLARK GALLERY, N.Y.C. (ROBERT BRODA, OHR: OAKLEY MUSEUM, BU)



THE POTTER SAID UN-2 CLAY. "BE. WARE" 'AND IT WAS'. Where AT BILOXI MISSISSIPPI. GEO'. E. OHR
ATLANTA 1895 ON THE MIDWAY
BILOXI MISSISSIPPI. "GREATEST" ART POTTER ON EARTH.
"YOU" PROVE TI CONTRARY. GEO'. E. OHR
BILOXI MISSISSIPPI ART AND NOVELTY POTTERY. GEO. E. OHR. HAS CHALLENGED ANY POTTER ON EARTH, IN VARIETY WORK. WONDERFULL PUZZLING. TRICK
NO TWO SOUVENIRS. ON EARTH ALIKE!
WONDERFULL PUZZLING CUP. ART POTTERY. BILOXI MISS! G.E.OHR.PRO!

Ohr tried to market his idiosyncratic pots at state fairs (above, at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta), but his strangely shaped, wildly glazed wares rarely sold. Today he is hailed as a "clay prophet" and "the Picasso of art pottery."

or Gets a Reputation." Another proclaimed: "Unequaled—unrivaled—undisputed—GREATEST ART POTTER ON THE EARTH." Stepping inside, a curious tourist found a studio overflowing with pots. But they were not your garden variety. These pots featured rims that had been crumpled like the edges of a burlap bag. Alongside them were pitchers that seemed deliberately twisted and vases warped as if melted in the kiln. And colors! In contrast to the boring beiges of Victorian ceramics, these works exploded with color—vivid reds juxtaposed with gunmetal grays; olive greens splattered across bright oranges; royal blues mottled on mustard yellows. The entire studio seemed like some mad potter's hallucination, and standing in the middle of it all was the mad potter himself.

Viewed from a distance across his cluttered shop, George Ohr didn't look mad. With his huge arms folded across his dirty apron, he looked more blacksmith than potter. But as they got a bit closer, customers could glimpse the 18-inch mustache he had wrapped around his cheeks and tied behind his head. And there was something in Ohr's eyes—dark, piercing and wild—that suggested, at the very least, advanced eccentricity. If the pots and the man's appearance did not prove lunacy, his prices did. He wanted $25—the equivalent of about $500 today—for a crumpled pot with wacky handles. "No two alike," he boasted, but to most customers each looked as weird as the next. No wonder that as the new century began, thousands of the colorful, misshapen works collected dust on Ohr's shelves, leaving the potter mad, indeed, at a world that failed to appreciate him. "I have a notion . . . that I am a mistake," he said in an interview in 1901. Yet he predicted, "When I am gone, my work will be praised, honored, and cherished. It will come."

Some 85 years after his death, the self-styled "Mad Potter of Biloxi" will be praised and honored as he predicted. Two years from now, Ohr's startling ceramics will be showcased in a new $25 million Biloxi arts center designed by architect Frank O. Gehry, whose swirling silver Guggenheim Museum put Bilbao, Spain, on the cultural map. The Ohr-O'Keefe Museum of Art, a Smithsonian Affiliate, is named

Accidental Discovery of Mysterious "Gold Rush" Coin Stuns Experts

World's Rarest U.S $20 Gold Proof Found: The San Francisco Mint 1854 Double Eagle Proof!

WASHINGTON, D.C—A one-of-a-kind U.S. Treasury gold proof coin has been accidentally discovered within the vaults of the Smithsonian Institution. This 1854-S gold Double Eagle $20 coin was struck by the San Francisco Mint in its first year of operation. The San Francisco Mint was born out of the need for a Western Frontier Mint when, in January of 1848, gold flakes were discovered at Sutter's Mill triggering one of the most important chapters in U.S. History—The California Gold Rush! To the surprise of historians, this single "S" mint Proof coin was individually struck from specially polished minting dies. How this unique Proof Double Eagle made its way across the continent and then into the hands of the Smithsonian Institution is an unsolved mystery to this day.

Today the First Federal Mint announces the public release of the first ever gold Proof commemorative honoring this rarest U.S. Government $20 gold piece This 10mil gold Proof has a frosted image against a deep mirror field, creating a breathtaking work of art in gold. This 150th anniversary Mint release honors the legacy of a true historic masterpiece.

The magnificent 10mil gold proof measures a full 39mm diameter to truly showcase the beauty and intricacy of this legendary coin design. The 10mil gold proof is available only through this limited edition, private release from the First Federal Mint at the advance issue price of $19.95 each.

Fabulous Rarity Valued at $12 Million

Only one original proof coin is known to have been struck. Even the foremost rare coin experts were unaware of its existence until it was accidentally found deep in the vaults of the museum. America's foremost authority on U.S. gold coins, David Akers, has written, "the 1854-S Double Eagle is easily the most significant and desirable branch mint proof coin in existence". With the recent auction sale of one of the three 1933 St. Gaudens Double Eagles for $7.9 million, senior numismatist Nicholas Bruyer estimates the unique 1854-S Proof Double Eagle would bring at least $12 million if it ever becomes available at auction.

The "Gold Rush" Coin.

2004 marks the 150th anniversary of this historic mint striking. The First Federal Mint is releasing this mint quality 10mil gold Gem Proof collectors coin to honor the legend, lore and legacy of the 1854-S Double Eagle!

Special Discount for Advance Orders.

The issue price for the special 150th anniversary 1854-S Gold Proof commemorative coin has been set at $50.00. However during the advance release period only, you may reserve your own 10mil 24k gold Gem Proof for only $19.95.

Your 1854-S Double Eagle 150th Anniversary Gold Proof will be protected in a clear acrylic holder and mounted in a deluxe presentation case. A signed and numbered Certificate of Authenticity will attest to the specifications and Limited Edition status of this exclusive private mintage.

Your order must be placed during this advance issue period to qualify for the $19.95 price. Multiple orders of five or more will be priced at $17.95 per Gold Proof. You must be 100% satisfied with your order, or simply return it within 30 days by insured mail for a prompt refund of the purchase price.

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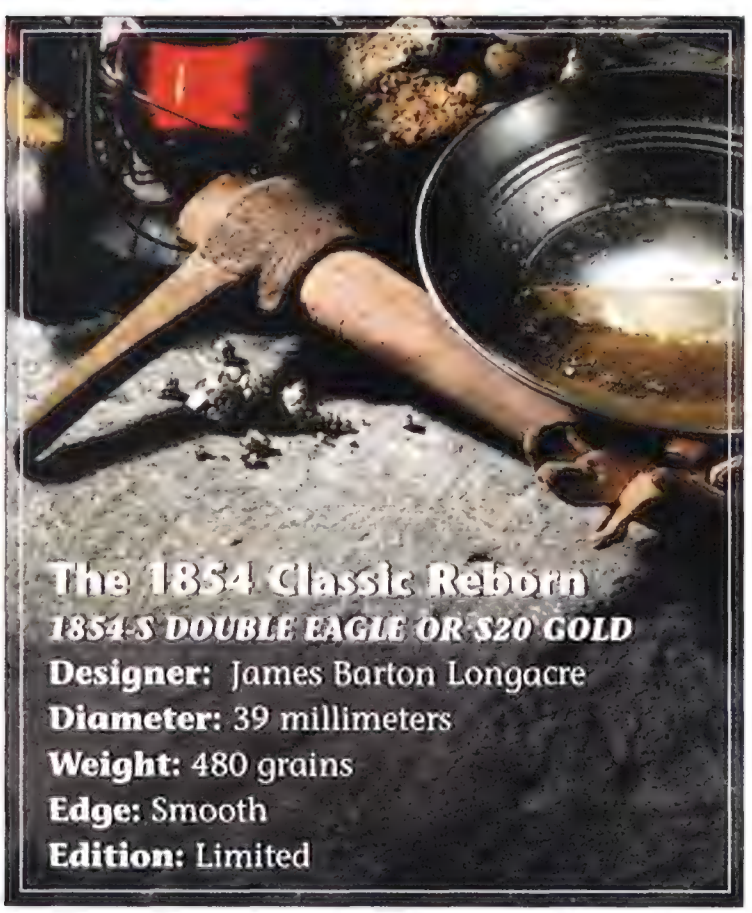

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in honor of former Biloxi mayor Jeremiah O'Keefe and his late wife, Annette. Their family's $1 million gift helped establish the museum, now housed in a small building downtown, in 1998. The new facility, scheduled to be completed in January 2006, will be nestled in a four-acre grove of live oaks overlooking the Gulf. As America's first museum dedicated to a single potter, the complex will call attention to an art more often seen as craft. And if yet another story of "an artist ahead of his time" sounds clichéd, the resurgence of George Ohr will cap one of the art world's most remarkable comebacks. For although his work is now in such museums as New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, until the late 1970s, the only place to see an Ohr pot was in a garage behind a Biloxi auto shop—in a crate.

SOME ARE BORN ECCENTRIC, some achieve eccentricity and some, including certain rock stars and artists, have it thrust upon them. Evidence suggests that Ohr's "madness" was a mix of all three. Born in Biloxi in 1857, he was the second of five children—"3 hens, 1 rooster and a duck," he later wrote in a two-page autobiography published in a ceramics and glass journal in 1901.

Ohr considered himself the duck, a mischievous oddball who was, as he once put it, always in "hot aqua." After elementary school, he spent a single season at a German school in New Orleans before dropping out in his early teens. He apprenticed as a file cutter, a tinker and as an assistant in his father's blacksmith shop, then put out to sea. After one voyage, however, he decided that a sailor's life was not for him. Finally, at 22, he chanced upon his life's work when a friend invited him to New Orleans to learn to be a potter. "When I found the potter's wheel I felt it all over like a wild duck in water," he remembered. After learning how to "boss a little piece of clay into a gallon jug," Ohr set out on his own to see what other potters were doing. In the early 1880s, he traveled through 16 states, dropping in on ceramics studios, shows and museums. By the time he got back to Biloxi in 1883, he had absorbed the essence of America's burgeoning art-pottery movement. In Cincinnati's Rookwood studio and a few others, potters were decorating their wares based on Japanese or French ceramics, adding animals, birds and bright floral designs. Ohr returned home determined to make art, not pots. But first he had to make a living.

BRUCE WATSON is the author of The Man Who Changed How Boys and Toys Were Made, *the story of A. C. Gilbert, the creator of the Erector set (Penguin USA, 2003).*

While still staying with his parents, Ohr built a pottery shop next door to his father's house, even crafting his own wheel and kiln, all for $26.80. Then he went looking for clay. Heading up the muddy Tchoutacabouffa River, Ohr spent days digging the red clay along its banks, loading it onto a barge and floating it all back home. To this day, admirers suspect there was something in that clay that enabled Ohr to create wafer-thin pots with a delicacy no one else has ever equaled. Yet at first, there was nothing special about Ohr's pottery. Working in his small shop, he supported his wife, Josephine, and their ten children by churning out chimney flues, planters and ordinary pitchers. He amused some customers with pots in anatomical shapes and clay coins imprinted with lewd picture puzzles. In his spare time, he experimented with pieces he called his "mud babies." Brooding over them, he wrote, "with the same tenderness a mortal child awakens in its parents," he created fantastic shapes glazed with wild colors. When he took his mud babies to exhibitions in New Orleans and Chicago, they sold poorly. Back home in Biloxi, his humorous signs promoting his "Pot-Ohr-E" gave Ohr a reputation as an eccentric whose shop was worth a visit mainly for a laugh.

Potters say that fire adds devilish details to their work. No matter how carefully one throws a piece of ceramics, a kiln's inferno causes chemical glazes to erupt in surprising colors. For Ohr, fire was a further catalyst for his creativity. At 2 a.m. on October 12, 1894, an alarm was sounded; Biloxi's Bijou Oyster Saloon had caught fire. The blaze spread quickly through downtown. It raged through the Opera House, several cottages belonging to Ohr's father and the grocery run by Ohr's mother. Finally, it gutted the Pot-Ohr-E. Later that day, Ohr picked through the ashes to dig out the charred remains of his "killed babies." He kept most of them for the rest of his life. When asked why, he replied, "Did you ever hear of a mother so inhuman that she would cast off her deformed child?" A loan enabled

COURTESY OF THE OHR-O'KEEFE MUSEUM COLLECTION

Ohr (in his workshop c. 1896 with his wife, Josephine, and four of their children) believed shapes came to a potter "as verses come to a poet." He called his pots his "mud babies" and brooded over each "with the same tenderness" a child awakens in its parents.

him to rebuild his shop, adding its telltale "pagoda," and like a glaze that turns an astonishing magenta when fired, Ohr emerged from the tragedy determined to make pottery as distinctive as he was. "I am the apostle of individuality," he once said, "the brother of the human race, but I must be myself and I want every vase of mine to be itself."

IN BOTH MUSEUM and private collections, nearly every Ohr pot is dated to the same short period: 1895-1905. During this decade, Ohr labored at a feverish pace, turning out thousands of amazing, outrageous, wonderful pots. Just as Cézanne was breaking up the plane of the painter's canvas, Ohr was shattering the conventions of ceramics. He made pitchers whose open tops resembled yawning mouths. He threw slim, multitiered vases with serpentine handles. He lovingly shaped bowls into symmetrical forms, then crumpled them as if to thumb his nose at the art world. He fired his works into kaleidoscopic colors that only a few years later would be called fauve—for the "wild" hues of Matisse and other Fauvists. And almost a decade before the Cubists added print to their canvases, Ohr scrawled on his ceramics with a pin. On an umbrella stand he created for the Smithsonian circa 1900, Ohr etched a rambling letter, adding an equally rambling salutation that concluded: "Mary had a little lamb / Pot-Ohr-E-George has (HAD) a / little POTTERY 'Now' where is the Boy / that stood in the Burning Deck. / 'This Pot is here,' and I am the / Potter Who was / G. E Ohr."

Ohr also stepped up his self-promotion. Crafting his own image, he billed himself as Biloxi's "Ohrmer Khayam," and George Ohr, M.D. (The M.D., he explained, stood for "Mud Dauber.") Signs he took with him to exhibitions and fairs unabashedly proclaimed "'GREATEST' ART POTTER ON EARTH, 'YOU' PROVE THE CONTRARY." As unconventional in private as in public, Ohr papered the parlor of his home in gaudy patchwork patterns. He had married 17-year-old Josephine Gehring, a blue-eyed New Orleans belle, in 1886, when he was 29. He and his "darling Josie" named their first two children Ella and Asa. Both died in infancy. Then, noting

that his own initials—G.E.O.—were the first three letters of his name, Ohr saddled his next eight kids with the same gimmick, naming them Leo, Clo, Lio, Oto, Flo, Zio, Ojo and Geo. He often was up late playing with rhymes, and in a local photography studio, he twisted his mustache and face to produce some of the wackiest portraits ever taken.

Locals were not amused, and many considered their native mud dauber certifiably insane. More likely, Ohr was just ahead of his time, in promoting his work as well as crafting it. Decades before Salvador Dali began his self-aggrandizing antics, Ohr asked a reporter, "You think I am crazy don't you?" Assuming a sober demeanor, the "mad" potter confided, "I found out a long time ago that it paid me to act this way." It did not pay well, however. Ohr was a notoriously bad businessman. He put shockingly high prices on his favorite pots because he simply could not bear to part with them. On those rare occasions when customers paid the asking price, Ohr would chase them down Delauney Street, trying to talk them out of the purchase. Ohr didn't seem to care that he made so little money. "Every genius is in debt," he said.

By the turn of the century, Ohr had begun to get a little respect if not much success. A survey of ceramics published in 1901 called his body of work "in some respects, one of the most interesting in the United States." Although Ohr exhibited his pots around the country and in Paris, the prizes always went to more traditional pottery. Ohr's only medal, a silver for general work, came at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exhibition in St. Louis. Still, he did not sell a single piece there. Even his few admirers misunderstood him.

Some critics said Ohr's "deliberately distorted" works displayed an utter lack "of good proportion, of grace, and of dignity." When praise did come, it was more for his colors (which Ohr considered an accident enhanced by fire) than for his shapes. "Colors and Quality—counts *nothing* in my creations," he fumed. "God, put no color or quality in souls." Determined to demonstrate his forte, he began making unglazed pots with even stranger contours.

Looking to the future for acceptance, Ohr announced he would no longer sell his works piece by piece but would "dispose of the whole collection to one creature or one country." If few collectors were interested in Ohr's single pots, however, no one was interested in thousands of them, making him only more angry and determined. When a New Orleans museum accepted a mere dozen of the 50 unsolicited pieces he'd sent them, he told the curator to "send it all back immediately." Once, in a fit of despair, he gathered a shovel, lantern and bag of pots, then hiked deep into the woods to bury his treasure like a pirate. If he left a map, it was probably burned by his son Leo, who, one evening after Ohr's death, torched all of his father's papers, including the secret recipes to his lovely glazes. Ohr's buried treasure is believed to be still in the Back Bay section of town—somewhere.

In 1909, claiming he hadn't sold one of his mud babies in more than 25 years, Ohr closed his shop. Though just 52, he never threw another pot. Having inherited a comfortable sum

FRANK GEHRY: ON TO OHR

Before Frank Gehry studied architecture, he tried his hand at pottery. The results, he says, led his pottery teacher to tell him to go into architecture. Which, of course, he did, rather successfully, never looking back. Not, that is, until he came across an architect friend's collection of George Ohr's work several years ago. "It knocked my socks off," says Gehry, 73 (above at his Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, which opened in October to wide acclaim). So when friends from New Orleans told Gehry of the proposed new Ohr museum in Biloxi, Mississippi, he solicited the commission. Suddenly, directors of Biloxi's tiny Ohr-O'Keefe Museum found themselves working with a world-famous architect. And the city of Biloxi, intoxicated by tales of tourists flocking to Gehry's Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, Spain, helped the Ohr-O'Keefe directors purchase prime real estate overlooking the Gulf. When Gehry visited the site, shaded by live oaks draped in Spanish moss, he was hooked. He sketched a plan for the complex (model, below) that would preserve the natural setting. "If the museum had been one large building," he says, "they would have had to tear down some of the oaks. But once I saw those trees, I created pavilions to dance with them."

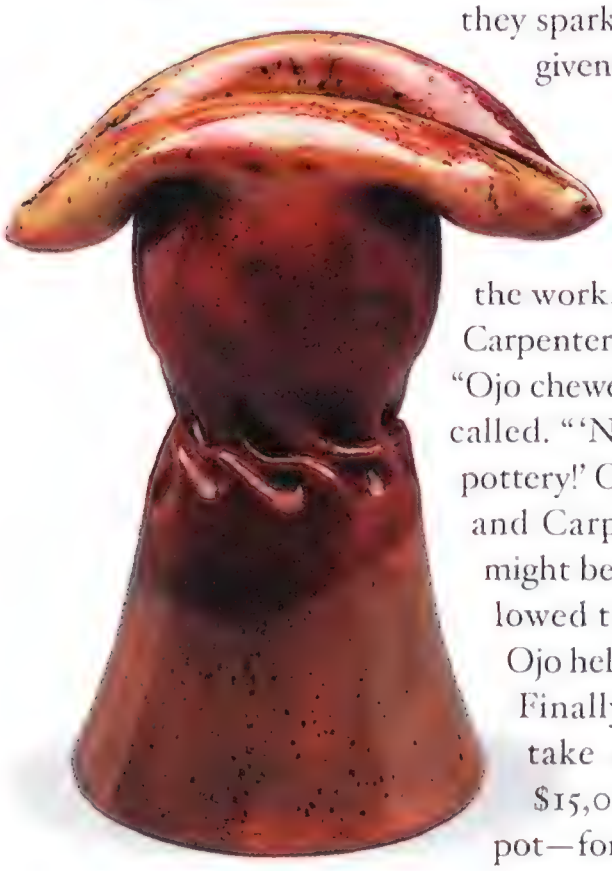
In designing the museum, Gehry worried about comparisons between Ohr's flowing pots and his own wavy buildings. "Anything I designed that looked like what I'd been doing would have seemed like a spoof of Ohr," he says, "so I had to come up with something new." Three pavilions, their walls only slightly twisted, will house the potter's works. Another will present a diorama of the "mad potter" in his studio. All told, the museum will display some 300 Ohr pots, including one donated by Gehry himself. It will also feature an African-American folk art gallery, a ceramics studio and library, a cultural center and a rooftop "shoofly" gazebo, where visitors can gaze through the trees and enjoy breezes off the Gulf. A relocated shotgun house—a vernacular wooden dwelling—will honor the African-American culture of the area.

The new museum is scheduled to open in January 2006. Says former Biloxi mayor and museum benefactor Jeremiah O'Keefe: "We were about to lose our heritage unless we let people know there was a lot more to Biloxi than casinos."

when his parents died, he devoted the rest of his life to enhancing his reputation as a loon. He let his beard grow long, and donning a flowing robe for Biloxi's Mardi Gras, he roamed the streets as Father Time. In his final years, he could be seen racing a motorcycle on the beach, white hair and beard flying. He often spoke and wrote in a disjointed stream of consciousness: "We are living in an Age of Wheels—more wheels, and wheels within Wheels—And MACHINE ART Works—is A fake and Fraud of the deepest die." Still confident that the time would come when his work would be recognized, Ohr died of throat cancer at age 60 in 1918. His pottery, some 7,000 pieces in crates, remained in the garage of his sons' auto-repair shop. Every now and then, a few kids carrying BB guns would sneak in and take some pots out for target practice.

An irrepressible eccentric, the hugely talented Ohr died in obscurity. "When I am gone," he once said, "my work will be praised, honored, and cherished."

A half-century after Ohr's death, James Carpenter, an antiques dealer from New Jersey, was making his annual winter tour of the Gulf Coast. Carpenter wasn't looking for pottery; he was shopping for old car parts. One sweltering afternoon in 1968, he stopped at the Ohr Boys Auto Repair in Biloxi. While he was browsing, Ojo Ohr, then himself in his 60s, approached Carpenter's wife. In his slow Mississippi drawl, Ojo asked, "Would y'all like to see some of my daddy's pottery?" Carpenter rolled his eyes as if to suggest they had to be going, but his wife, whose curiosity was apparently aroused, said, "Sure." Back at the cinder block garage, Ojo opened the doors to reveal the most amazing collection of pottery in the history of American ceramics. Several pieces were set out on tables; the rest filled crates stacked to the 12-foot ceiling. A few had been cleaned of their greasy film. Catching the sunlight, they sparkled like the day Ohr had given them life.



Carpenter had never heard of Ohr. Few outside Biloxi had. Yet he recognized the beauty of the work, as did Ohr's son. When Carpenter reached to pick up a pot, "Ojo chewed me all out," he later recalled. "'Nobody touches Daddy's pottery!' Ojo said." But he relented, and Carpenter, wondering if he might be able to sell them, was allowed to examine a few pots as Ojo held them up for inspection. Finally, Carpenter decided to take a gamble. He offered $15,000—about two bucks a pot—for the entire lot. Ojo left to consult with his brother and came back shaking his head no. It took several more years for the brothers to decide to part with their legacy and agree on an asking price. In the end they settled on a sum that back then, says Carpenter, "would have bought a very desirable house"—in the range of $50,000. But according to one Ohr scholar, by the time Carpenter returned with the money, Ojo had upped the price to $1.5 million. After three more summers of negotiations, for a price rumored to be closer to the lower figure, Carpenter moved Ohr's treasures to New Jersey, where they began trickling onto the marketplace.

Meanwhile, the art world had begun catching up to Ohr. During the 1950s, a school of Abstract Expressionist ceramics had flowered, creating free-form works that looked more like sculpture than pottery. Artists, including Jasper Johns and Andy Warhol, bought Ohr's pots, as did several collectors, though the curator of ceramics at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History protested Ohr's inclusion in a show in 1978, calling him "just plain hokey." Only in 1984, when Ohr pots appeared in paintings by Johns at New York's Leo Castelli Gallery, did praise and critical esteem begin to flow. After a series of one-man shows of Ohr's work, collectors such as Steven Spielberg and Jack Nicholson purchased pieces and drove prices up. Today, the same pots scorned a century ago sell from $20,000 to $60,000 each. Back in 1900, when his pots were barely selling at all, exasperated exhibition organizers would ask Ohr to put a value on his works. "Worth their weight in gold," he would answer. In retrospect, he sold himself short.

Today, Ohr is hailed as a "clay prophet" and "the Picasso of art pottery." His resurrection proves that madness, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. But then, he always knew that, and so did visitors to his shop, at least those who were trained in the classics and paid strictest attention. On their way out of the cluttered, crowded studio, they would pass yet another hand-lettered sign, this one inscribed with a Latin phrase: *Magnus opus, nulli secundus / optimus cognito, ergo sum*! Translated it read: "A masterpiece, second to none, The best; Therefore, I am!" ○

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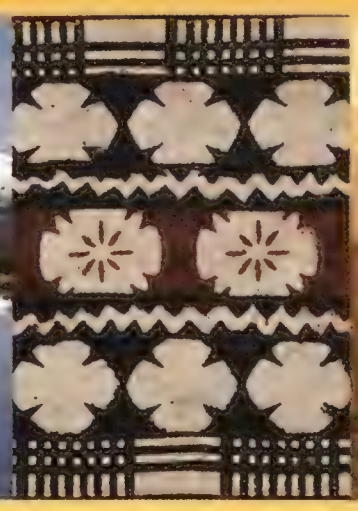

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DIGGING INTO A HISTORIC RIVALRY

As archaeologists unearth a secret slave passageway used by abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens, scholars reevaluate his reputation and that of his neighbor and nemesis, James Buchanan

BY FERGUS M. BORDEWICH

WHEN, IN 2002, archaeologists Mary Ann Levine and James Delle's crew of student excavators broke through the roof of an old cistern in the courtyard of a house belonging to one of 19th-century America's most important politicians, they discovered something totally unexpected: a secret hiding place for runaway slaves. Although the saga of American slavery, and the Underground Railroad (the network that helped fugitives make their way north to freedom), is replete with legends of ingeniously concealed hideaways, secret redoubts such as Thaddeus Stevens' in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, are actually quite rare. "I've looked at many tunnels that were alleged to have been used by the Underground Railroad," says Delle, 40, a professor at nearby Kutztown University. (Levine is on the faculty at Franklin & Marshall College.) "Usually I'm debunking these sites. But in this case, I can think of no other possible explanation."

In the mid-1800s, Stevens, a seven-term congressman and power broker, had been a household name, renowned, and in many cases, reviled for his eloquent calls for the abolition of slavery. A brilliant lawyer with a commitment to racial equality far in advance of his time, he would be the father of two amendments to the Constitution—the 14th, guaranteeing all citizens equal protection before the law, and the 15th, granting freedmen the right to vote—and also an architect of Reconstruction. A lightning rod for the political passions that electrified the United States during and after the Civil War, he is virtually unknown today, nearly a century and a half after his death in 1868. "If you stopped a hundred people on the street today, right here in Lancaster, and asked them who Stevens was, I bet only 50 would know," says Lancaster's mayor, Charlie Smithgall, 58. "And most of them could tell you only that there's a junior college here that has his name on it."

Stevens' reputation, even in his hometown, is dwarfed by that of his neighbor and bitter rival, James Buchanan, the nation's 15th president and arguably its worst. "Buchanan's vision was cemented in the past," says Jean Harvey Baker, a historian at Goucher College, in Baltimore, Maryland, and the author of a biography of Buchanan to be published in May. "He continued to see the United States as a slaveholding republic at a time when other Western countries were moving away from slavery. If he could have, he would have made the United States into a slave society that extended from Baja California to the East Coast." Today, Buchanan's stately Lancaster home, Wheatland, stands as a lovingly restored memorial; Stevens' modest brick row house has lain largely neglected for decades and, despite the historic archaeological find, will soon be partially demolished to make way for a massive new convention center.

The two men could hardly have produced a more vivid study in contrasts: one was a firebrand abolitionist, consid-

Archaeologists James Delle and Mary Ann Levine (inside the cistern they excavated at Stevens' house) discovered a hiding place for fugitive slaves. Says Delle: "Usually I'm debunking these sites. But in this case, I can think of no other explanation."

ered the foremost radical of his generation, the other a Northerner who supported the South—in the parlance of the time, a doughface. "Doughfaces were mainly border-state congressmen who did the political bidding of the South," says Baker. "The term implied that they were malleable, that they could be worked on. They didn't give a damn about slavery. They cared only about keeping intact the Democratic Party's coalition with the South." Stevens was a man driven by deeply held moral convictions. Buchanan, on the other hand, emerged as the great equivocator—eternally placating, legalistic and so priggish that President Andrew Jackson once dismissed him as a "Miss Nancy"—a sissy.

Yet the lives of Stevens and Buchanan maintained curiously parallel courses. Both men rose from humble origins: Buchanan was born in a log cabin on the Pennsylvania frontier in 1791, and Stevens a year later in rural Vermont. Both were lifelong bachelors and workaholics, fueled by intense political ambition. Both were lawyers who built their careers in Lancaster; they lived less than two miles apart. And both would die in the summer of 1868 amid the postwar trauma of Reconstruction. For decades, in an age when slavery was a 600-pound gorilla in the parlor of American democracy, the two men would find their bitterly opposed political viewpoints inextricably entwined. Buchanan would lead the United States to the brink of Civil War. Stevens would shape its aftermath.

Lancaster was a prosperous little city with a population of about 6,000 when Buchanan, at age 18, arrived there in 1809. Handsome two- and three-story brick and fieldstone houses were laid out in a dignified grid, befitting an urban center that had served as the state's capital since 1799. Home to gunsmiths, artisans and markets for the hundreds of farmers who lived in the surrounding county, Lancaster exuded an atmosphere of bustle and importance, even though its streets were unpaved. Fresh out of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Buchanan was determined to please his demanding Scots-Irish father, who never tired of telling his firstborn son how much he had sacrificed to educate him.

Had Buchanan lived in present times, pundits would likely describe him as an inside-the-Beltway type, a professional politician who advances himself through appointed positions and personal connections. "In the 18th century, ambitious men went into the church," says Baker. "In the 20th, they went into big business. The way you made a mark in Buchanan's era was not by creating an Enron but by entering party politics."

Buchanan, tall and ruggedly handsome, entered Congress as a Federalist in 1821, representing Lancaster and the surrounding region. By this time, the Federalist Party, founded by Alexander Hamilton, had declined as a national force, a result both of its opposition to the War of 1812 and its image as a protector of the wealthy. The party had lost ground to Democrats, who traced their origins to Thomas Jefferson and presented themselves as champions of the common man. The new Federalist congressman's primary loyalty, however, was less to party than to career. "Buchanan was an opportunist," says historian Matthew Pinsker of Dickinson College. "Early on, he learned an important lesson for a man who wanted to get ahead in politics: don't disagree with anyone. He had an impressive résumé, but he was not a popular figure; he was an insider."

In 1828, sensing the rise of a vigorous opposition party, Buchanan threw his support to Democrat Andrew Jackson, who was elected president that year. Buchanan served the last of his five terms in the House of Representatives as a Democrat. After a stint as Jackson's ambassador to Russia from 1832 to 1833, he was elected to the Senate (by the State Legislature, in accordance with the laws of that time) in 1834. Eleven years later, when Democrat James Polk became presi-

In Lancaster (in 1866, top), James Buchanan erected his stately home, Wheatland (below, as it looks today). Says historian Matthew Pinsker of the 15th president: "Buchanan was an opportunist: he was not a popular figure; he was an insider."

FERGUS M. BORDEWICH, who is based in upstate New York, is writing a history of the Underground Railroad, to be published this year.

LANCASTER COUNTRIES

Both Stevens (left) and Buchanan (as depicted in portraits by 19th-century photographer Mathew Brady) cast long shadows on American politics. As president, a weak Buchanan led the nation to the brink of Civil War; Stevens would help shape its aftermath.

dent, Buchanan served as his Secretary of State. He won plaudits for his advancement of American claims in the Northwest.

Buchanan was already a rising political star by the time 50-year-old Thaddeus Stevens moved to Lancaster in 1842. Stevens had come to Pennsylvania after graduating from Dartmouth College; he settled in Gettysburg, where he earned a reputation as the most brilliant lawyer in town, despite dual disabilities: a clubbed foot and a disfiguring illness—alopecia, a rare form of baldness—that caused him to lose his hair by age 35. (He wore a wig throughout his career; when a political admirer once begged for a lock of his hair, he plucked off the entire hairpiece and presented it to her with a rueful smile.)

Stevens had won election to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1833 at age 41. In office, he emerged as an advocate for public education. His preoccupation, however, was slavery. His hatred of it was rooted not only in his Yankee upbringing but also in an 1821 incident. In a case he would thereafter never explain or even allude to, Stevens successfully defended a Maryland owner of runaway slave Charity Butler, who was consequently returned to bondage. Though a professional triumph, the case "affected him deeply," says Hans Trefousse, author of *Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian* and professor emeritus of American history at the City University of New York. "I think that he was disgusted with himself for what he had done." From then on, Stevens' commitment to equal rights for African-Americans—an idea that was anathema even to many abolitionists—would be unwavering.

In contrast, Buchanan condemned slavery in the abstract while supporting it in fact. It was, he asserted before Congress in 1826, "one of those moral evils from which it is impossible for us to escape without the introduction of evils infinitely greater. There are portions of this Union in which, if you emancipate your slaves, they will become masters." He proclaimed a willingness to "bundle on my knapsack" and spring to the South's defense, should that ever become necessary, and vigorously defended the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which required citizens, regardless of their beliefs, to help recapture runaway slaves anywhere in the country. Says Baker: "He was totally opposed to abolitionism, and pro-Southern. He wanted to protect the Union as it was, run by a Southern minority. His agenda was appeasement."

Even so, Buchanan is not without his defenders. "Buchanan revered the Constitution with an almost religious fervor," says Samuel C. Slaymaker, director of the James Buchanan Foundation, which oversees Wheatland. "He was afraid of the masses, but he was also afraid of the presidency becoming too powerful. He saw the president as an administrator for the laws that Congress made, not as someone who was there to make the law himself. He foresaw that a

war would be long and bloody, and feared that the country might not survive it." As for slavery, Slaymaker says Buchanan thought it more a legal than a moral issue and believed it would fade out in the South as it had in Pennsylvania. He felt that the abolitionists only made things worse by provoking Southerners with their "immoderate language."

Although Buchanan had long dreamed of becoming president, by the time he was appointed to yet another diplomatic post, at 62, as minister to England under President Franklin Pierce in 1853, he believed that his career was effectively over. Ironically, this exile helped him secure the very prize he had sought. During his three years abroad, most nationally known Democrats—including Pierce and Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois—were tarnished by bitter infighting over whether slavery should be extended to the Western territories. Within months of his return home, Buchanan emerged as his party's presidential candidate in 1856.

During the campaign, Buchanan delivered no speeches at all, which was customary at the time. Nevertheless, his opponents mocked his silence and his lackluster performance. "There is a wrong impression about one of the candidates," Stevens declared of his fellow Lancastrian. "There is no such person running as James Buchanan. He is dead of lockjaw. Nothing remains but a platform and a bloated mass of political putridity." The Republicans, who had established their party only two years earlier, nominated John C. Frémont, a mapmaker and explorer who had led several expeditions across the Rockies in the 1840s.

But the well-established and better-funded Democrats, who pandered to proslavery Southerners, had the edge, and Buchanan, silent to the end, captured the presidency with 45 percent of the vote. (With antislavery Northerners flocking to the Republicans, the new party made a startlingly strong showing, with 33 percent of the vote.)

Lydia Hamilton Smith, Stevens' trusted mixed-race housekeeper, likely oversaw fugitive slaves. Said a contemporary: "She was as smart as a steel trap."

BUCHANAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, delivered on March 4, 1857, reflected an almost pathological complacency. "Everything of a practical nature has been decided," he declared. "No other question remains for adjustment, because all agree that under the Constitution slavery in the States is beyond the reach of any human power except that of the respective States themselves wherein it exists." The new president was, of course, in deep denial. Since 1855, bloody conflict between proslavery and antislavery forces had ravaged the Kansas Territory; the violence had reached a crescendo during the campaign that led to Buchanan's election.

While Buchanan temporized, Stevens was living a double life, as a prominent lawyer and politician—and as a clandestine activist. His fierce abolitionist views were well known, but the extent of his secret work on behalf of fugitive slaves is only now becoming clear. Even when Stevens lived in Gettysburg, he had begun to volunteer his time to defend runaway slaves in court. After his move to Lancaster in 1842, he regularly aided fugitives traveling from the city of Columbia, Pennsylvania, a key center of Underground Railroad activity 14 miles to the west. Stevens also paid a spy to report on slave catchers active in the area, passing on what he learned to fugitives. "I have a spy on the spies and thus ascertain the facts," he wrote to his fellow abolitionist, Jeremiah Brown, in 1847. "All this, however, must remain secret or we will lose all the advantages we now have. These are the eighth set of slaves I have warned within a week."

No surviving documents describe just how the cistern behind Stevens' brick house functioned as a hiding place. Perhaps fugitives arrived in Lancaster from Columbia, where an African-American lumber merchant, William Whipper, shipped them eastward toward Philadelphia and to freedom on railroad freight cars fitted with secret compartments. The fugitives might then have been delivered, sealed into barrels, to the tavern next to Stevens' house. Slaves may have been hidden in the cistern for a few hours, or days, until they could be passed on to other locations.

In 1848, Stevens entered into a partnership with a 35-year-old widow, Lydia Hamilton Smith, a light-skinned mulatto (her father was white) who would act for the next 25 years as his housekeeper, property manager and confidante. It was a remarkable—and courageous—relationship in an era when segregation was virtually universal. Even in the North, blacks were almost completely excluded from colleges and public schools and barred from theaters, libraries, eating places and accommodations. Silk merchant Lewis Tappan, the most influential abolitionist in New York City during the antebellum period, declined to hire black clerks in his store because he considered them untrustworthy. Genuine partnerships between whites and blacks were almost unheard of.

It is likely, given her connections in the local African-American community, that Smith managed the movement of

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fugitives in and out of the Stevens house. Able to shuttle easily between the divided worlds of black and white, she was ideally suited for such a mission. While it was widely rumored in Stevens' lifetime and afterward that the two were lovers, no hard evidence exists to support that claim. Stevens, in any case, treated Smith as his equal. He addressed her as "Madam," invariably offered her his seat on public transportation and included her in social occasions with his friends.

SOUTHERN POLITICIANS had warned that they would lead their states out of the Union if Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for president, won. In the election, opposition to him split among two Democrats, Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge, and a fourth candidate, John Bell. Lincoln was elected in November 1860. No sooner had the race been decided than the Southern states began to make good on their threats. In the months leading up to Lincoln's inauguration, a forceful response from President Buchanan might have dampened the secession ardor. But he responded with characteristic equivocation. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded; ten other Southern states followed. "Buchanan handled secession abysmally," says historian Baker. "When South Carolina seceded, he tried to do all he could for the Southerners. He retained Southern cabinet officers who were, in effect, agents of the South and who continued to influence him in ways that were pretty close to treasonous. He spent so much time on details that the larger issues escaped him. When things got tough, he got immobilized."

Even when members of his cabinet began resigning to join the embryonic Confederacy, Buchanan focused on his pet project, a plan to purchase Cuba from Spain. "A president with vision would have looked ahead and begun the process of returning the Army to the East Coast from the West, where it was scattered on remote posts," says Baker. "But he did nothing. He had also sent a huge naval expedition to

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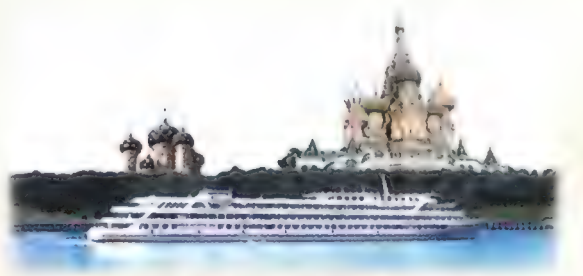

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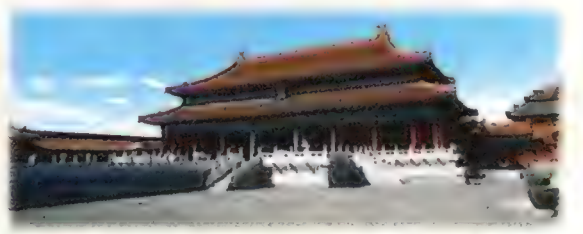

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Paraguay, of all places, so that when he needed the Navy, he didn't have it either." Yankees derided him as a Southern toady, while Confederates blamed him for not facilitating their secession from the Union. As a private citizen in Lancaster in 1861, he proclaimed his support for a Northern victory. But by then almost no one was listening.

When Buchanan died, on June 1, 1868, seven years after leaving office (and three years after the end of the Civil War), the *New York Times* appraised him harshly: "He met the crisis of secession in a timid and vacillating spirit, temporizing with both parties, and studiously avoiding the adoption of a decided policy," the paper's obituary writer concluded. "To every appeal from the loyal men of the country for an energetic and patriotic opposition to the plots of the Secessionists, his only reply was: 'The South has no right to secede, but I have no power to prevent them.' " By the time Lincoln took the oath of office, the obituary continued, Buchanan had "retired to the privacy of his home in Wheatland, followed by the ill-will of every section of the country."

HAVING SERVED in Congress from 1849 to 1853, Thaddeus Stevens had been reelected in 1858 after a nearly six-year hiatus. Stevens saw the Civil War as an opportunity to end slavery once and for all, and as the war loomed, he approached the zenith of his power. Although he considered Lincoln too willing to compromise on the matter of race, Stevens, in his capacity as chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, acted as a key backer of the administration and the war effort. In December 1861, more than a year before Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation (which freed only those slaves in Rebel territory), he called for the enactment of abolition.

Once peace was declared, on April 9, 1865—and in the aftermath of Lincoln's assassination less than a week later—Stevens understood immediately that former slaves could exercise their new freedoms only with the sup-

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Activists hope to restore Stevens' residence (above). Says Randolph Harris, a preservationist: "We cannot walk away from this house. Stevens is too important a figure in our history to abandon."

port of the federal government, and even, of federal troops. "He believed that he was living at a revolutionary moment," says Eric Foner, author of *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* and a professor of history at Columbia University. "The Civil War had shattered the institutions of Southern society. Stevens wanted not just reunion of the states, but to remake Southern society completely. He wanted to take the land away from the wealthy planter class, and to give it to blacks, and to reshape the South in the image of the North, as a land of small farmers, political democracy, and public schools, and with the principle of racial equality engraved in it. Stevens was also very old, and he knew that if he was ever going to accomplish anything of what he wanted, it had to be now."

By 1866, with two years left to live, and in almost constant pain from a variety of ailments, the 74-year-old Stevens was also pressing aggressively in Congress for a new amendment to the Constitution that would require states to afford their citizens equal protection under the law, without regard to race. After several months' debate, Congress passed the 14th Amendment in June 1866. (It would be ratified by the states in 1868.) The legislation was not as far-reaching as Stevens had hoped; in particular, it did not include a provision to grant freedmen the vote. Neverthe-

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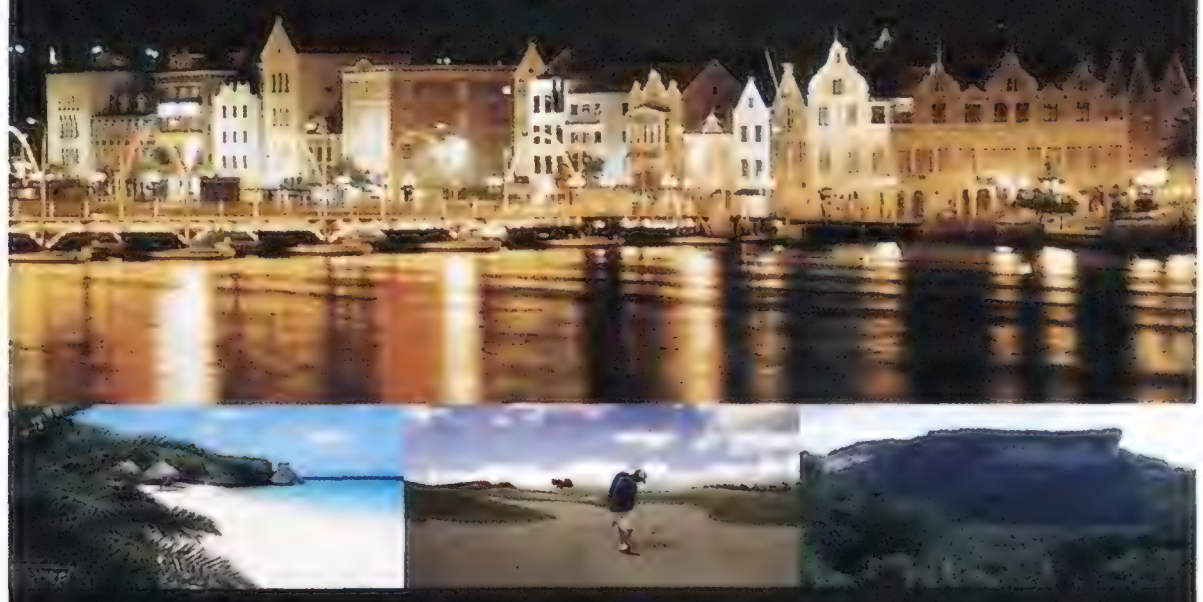

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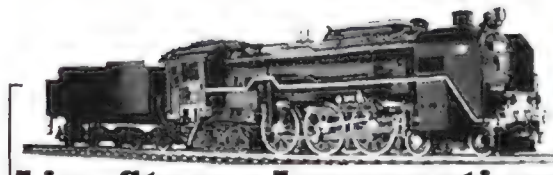

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less, in a speech he delivered before Congress shortly after the bill's passage, Stevens demonstrated a willingness to accept compromise: "Do you inquire why . . . I accept so imperfect a proposition? . . . Because I live among men and not among angels."

Despite his attempt to create a legislative solution, Stevens watched as Lincoln's successor, Tennessean Andrew Johnson, permitted Southern state assemblies, which included many former Confederates, to enact laws that effectively denied freedmen their civil and economic rights. Anti-black rioting swept Southern cities, leaving hundreds of African-Americans dead. "There was violence all over the place," says Foner. "Law and order had broken down everywhere. The failure of the first phase of Reconstruction discredited President Johnson and opened the door to men like Stevens. The Radicals [Stevens' wing of the Republican Party] were at least seen to have a coherent agenda." Stevens saw his opportunity: enfeebled though he was by age and illness, he redoubled efforts to block the rising power of defeated Confederates.

By early 1867, so weak that he could deliver speeches only in a whisper, Stevens pleaded with Congress to act, even as his colleagues had to crowd around him in order to hear. "The South," he charged, "is covered all over with anarchy and murder." It is said that the oration was one of the few in Congress that resulted in the changing of votes on the spot. Stevens got what he wanted: more federal troops would be dispatched to the South, eventually to become an army of occupation 20,000 strong to protect the rights of freedmen and of whites loyal to the Union.

Stevens also continued to argue forcefully in Congress that blacks everywhere must have the vote, still denied them even in some Northern states. "We have imposed upon them the privilege of fighting our battles, of dying in defense of freedom, and of bearing their equal portion of taxes; but where have we given them the privilege of ever participating in the for-

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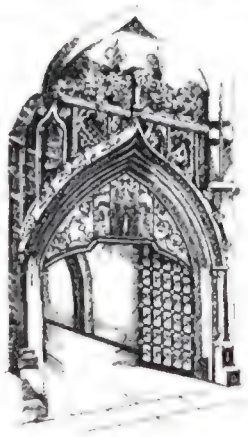

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The cistern behind Stevens' house has yielded scores of artifacts—including a spittoon, evidence that fugitive slaves sheltered here for extended periods.

mation of the laws for the government of their native land?"

It was also Stevens, in his final battle in 1868, who led the attempt to impeach Johnson for firing a Radical member of his cabinet, though the real issue was whether the Congress or the president would determine the course of Reconstruction policy. As personally unpopular as the president was, many members of Congress felt that this time Stevens and the Radicals had overreached in their attempt to reduce the power of the executive branch. When the heads were counted in the Senate that May, the effort to oust the president failed by a single vote.

Stevens died a few months later, on August 12, 1868. In the years immediately preceding the war, he had been vilified for views considered outside the national mainstream. But he lived long enough to see at least some of his ideals enacted into law. "Stevens was ahead of his time because he truly believed in racial equality," says Trefousse. "Without him, the 14th Amendment, and the 15th Amendment, guaranteeing suffrage to the freedmen, would have been impossible." (Stevens did not live to see ratification of the 15th

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Amendment in 1870.) Says Trefousse: "In practice, those amendments were effectively nullified in the South in the years after the end of Reconstruction. But they were still in the law. In the 20th century, the amendments would remind Americans of what those laws had once stood for: they were the standard that the nation had set for itself." In fact, the 14th and 15th amendments became the foundation upon which virtually all 20th-century civil rights legislation would be built.

The North had won the Civil War on the battlefield; in some respects, however, the victory was short-lived. By 1877, federal troops had withdrawn completely from the South. Stevens' amendments had, in essence, been dismantled, and harsh discriminatory laws had been enacted. Vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan terrorized blacks. The South, and indeed most of the nation, slumped into almost a century of institutionalized segregation.

As for Stevens, perhaps the nadir in his reputation was reached in 1915 with the appearance of movie director D.W. Griffith's Civil War epic, *The Birth of A Nation*, in which he was portrayed as a villain, plotting with a mixed-race co-conspirator to instigate a race war against whites. Smith appears in the film as well, referred to disparagingly as "the mulatto," and characterized as ambitious and grasping. The film calls the Ku Klux Klan "the organization that saved the South from the anarchy of black rule." President Woodrow Wilson allowed the movie, which portrays blacks as clownish, lascivious lowlifes, to premier at the White House.

AS STEVENS' reputation plummeted, James Buchanan's began to rise, at least in Lancaster. During the 1930s, Wheatland was restored, with the support of public donations, to its mid-19th-century splendor. (Stevens' home was not even included on a 1962 map of the Lancaster Historical Society's important downtown sites.) On a recent tour of Wheatland, a docent, costumed in period dress, cheerily described Buchanan as "a nice man who just be-

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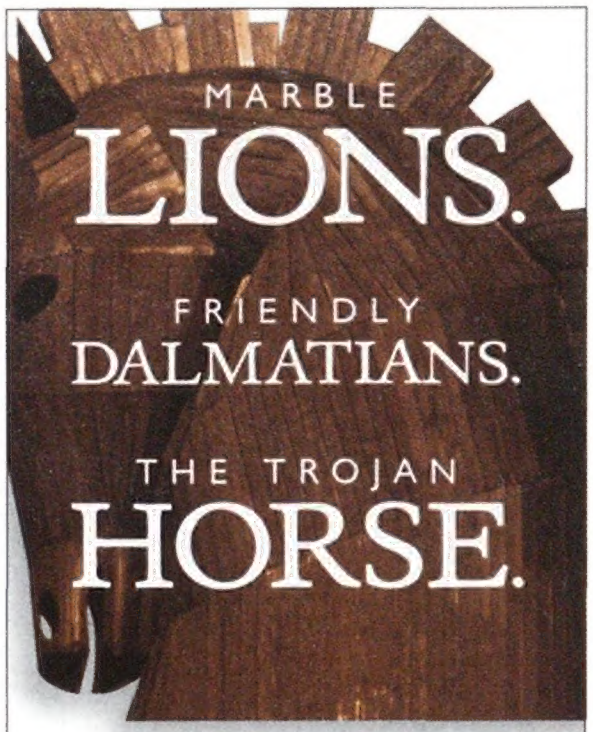
lieved in the Constitution." Stevens, she volunteered, seemed to have had an inexplicable mean streak, adding, "I don't really know exactly what his problem was."

Later, as snowflakes swirled in the streets of Lancaster, archaeologist Jim Delle unlocked the front door of the row house where Stevens lived, only a block from the square where crowds of spellbound supporters had once listened to his surging oratory. The Federal-era facade has disappeared under a modern facing of dingy white bricks; a garage door intrudes on Stevens' front parlor. Moldering industrial carpeting, cracked plaster and graffiti lent an atmosphere of desolation to the ground-floor room where Stevens likely wrote his most famous speeches. In the courtyard behind the house, Delle scraped snow off a sheet of plywood covering the broken crown of the cistern; we climbed down an aluminum ladder. In the dank brick compartment, the archaeologist pointed out a small aperture through which fugitives had entered, crawling from a tunnel that connected to the basement of the tavern next door.

Two years ago, real estate developers agreed, after considerable local protests, to leave about half of Stevens' house standing; however, they insist that the rest of the building must be leveled to make room for a new convention center. "We have to be efficient from a cost standpoint," says David Hixson of the Convention Center Authority. "But we are making an effort to integrate the historic structures into the project. We need that space." Current plans, yet unfunded, call for the remaining section of the house to be restored; an underground museum, incorporating the cistern, would also be built. "We can't just walk away from this house," says Randolph Harris, the former director of the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, who has fought to prevent the demolition of Stevens' house and his adjoining properties. "Stevens is way too important a figure in our history to abandon once again."



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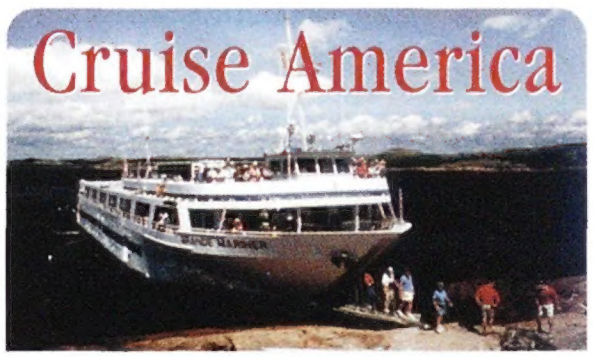

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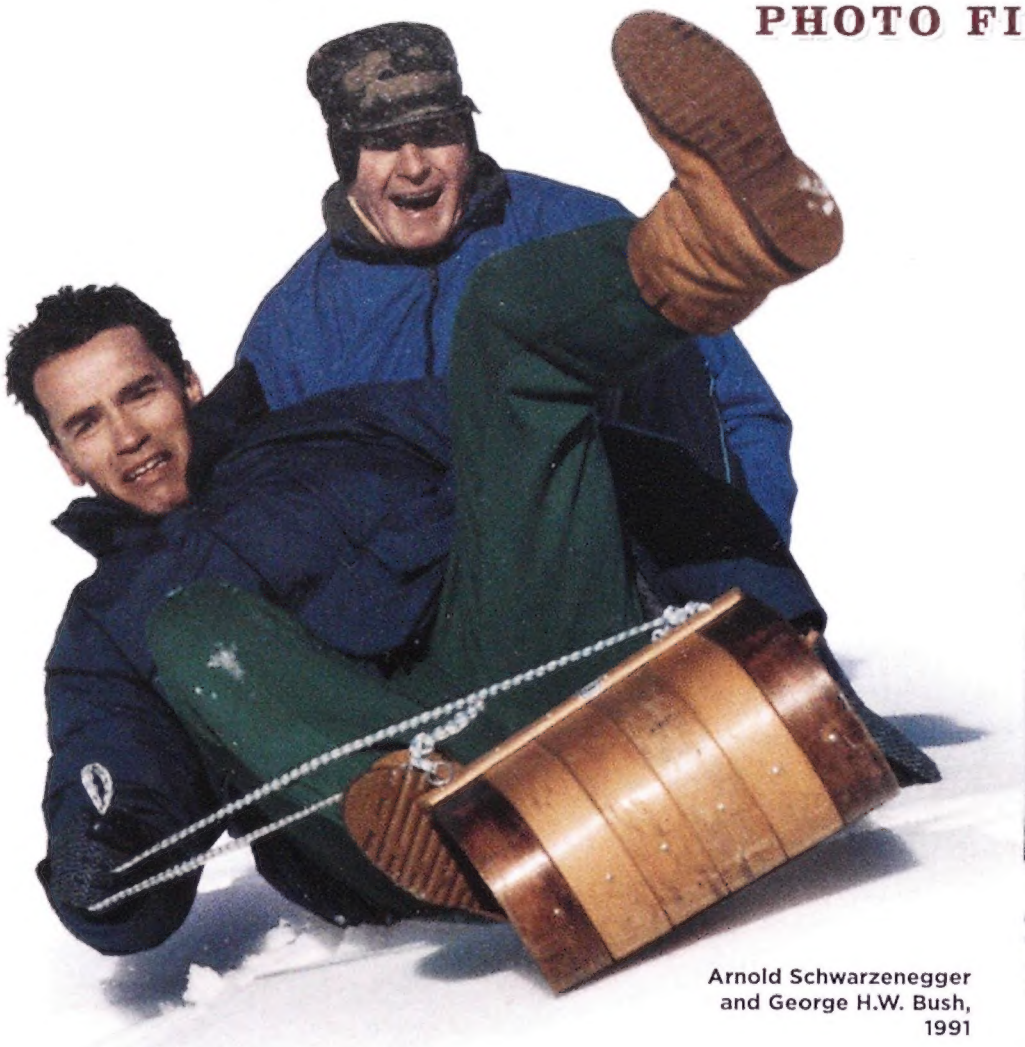
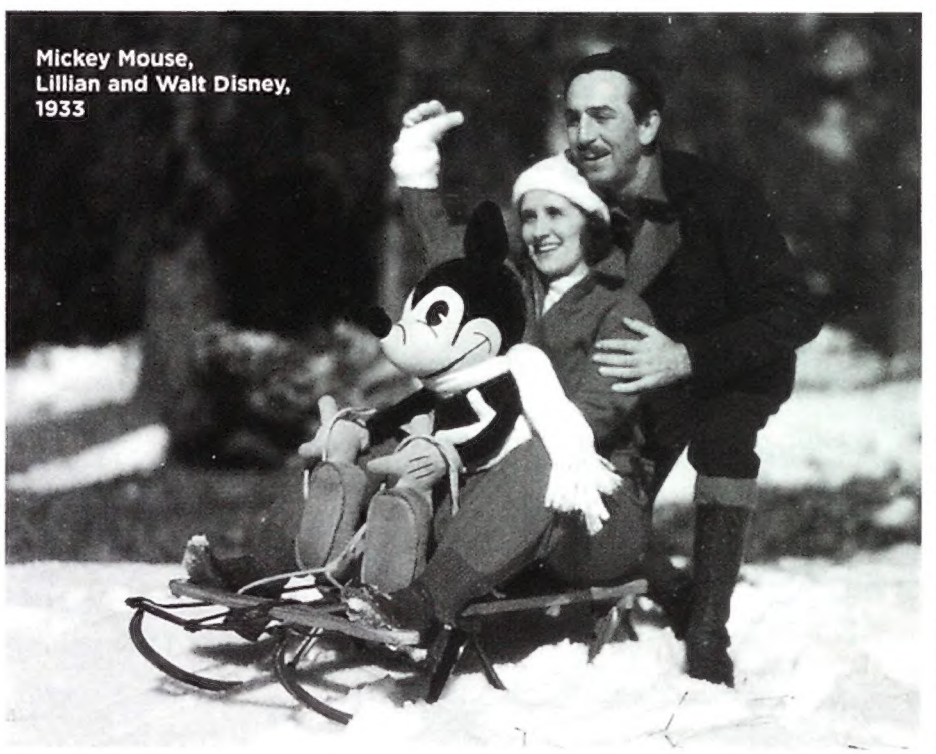


Arnold Schwarzenegger and George H.W. Bush, 1991

Annie and John H. Glenn Jr. with son, David, and daughter, Lyn, 1961

Audrey Hepburn, 1951

Robert and Ethel Kennedy with, from front, Courtney, David, Kathleen, Bobby, Kerry, Michael and Joe, 1960



Mickey Mouse, Lillian and Walt Disney, 1933

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